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STUDIES IN

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX

BY

HAVELOCK ELLIS

VOL. I

BY

HAVELOCK ELLIS,

Fellow of the Medico-legal Society; Honorary Fellow of the Chicago Academy of Medicine; Vice-President of the International Medico-legal Congress of 1895.

MAN AND WOMAN: A STUDY OF HUMAN SECONDARY SEXUAL CHARACTERS. Second Edition. (Walter Scott.)

THE CRIMINAL. Second Edition. (Walter Scott.)

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SEXUAL INVERSION

BY

HAVELOCK ELLIS

AND

JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS

I

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GENERAL PREFACE.

The origin of these studies dates from many years back. As a youth I was faced, as others are, by the problems of sex. Living partly in an Australian city where the ways of life were plainly seen, partly in the solitude of the bush, I was free both to contemplate and to meditate many things. A resolve slowly grew up within me: one main part of my life-work should be to make clear the problems of sex.

That was more than twenty years ago. Since then I can honestly say that in all that I have done that resolve has never been very far from my thoughts. I have always been slowly working up to this central problem; and in a book published some three years ago—*Man and Woman: a Study of Human Secondary Sexual Characters*—I put forward what was, in my own eyes, an introduction to the study of the primary questions of sexual psychology.

Now that I have at length reached the time for beginning to publish my results, these results scarcely seem to me large. As a youth, I had hoped to settle problems for those who came after; now I am quietly content if I do little more than state them. For even that, I now

think, is much; it is at least the half of knowledge. In this particular field the evil of ignorance is magnified by our efforts to suppress that which never can be suppressed, though in the effort of suppression it may become perverted. I have at least tried to find out what are the facts, among normal people as well as among abnormal people; for, while it seems to me that the physician's training is necessary in order to ascertain the facts, the physician for the most part only obtains the abnormal facts, which alone bring little light. I have tried to get at the facts, and, having got at the facts, to look them simply and squarely in the face. If I cannot perhaps turn the lock myself, I bring the key which can alone in the end rightly open the door: the key of sincerity. That is my own panacea: sincerity.

I know that many of my friends, people on whose side I, too, am to be found, retort with another word: reticence. It is a mistake, they say, to try to uncover these things; leave the sexual instincts alone, to grow up and develop in the shy solitude they love, and they will be sure to grow up and develop wholesomely. But, as a matter of fact, that is precisely what we cannot and will not ever allow them to do. There are very few middle-aged men and women who can clearly recall the facts of their lives and tell you in all honesty that their sexual instincts have developed easily and wholesomely through-

out. And it should not be difficult to see why this is so. Let my friends try to transfer their feelings and theories from the reproductive region to, let us say, the nutritive region, the only other which can be compared to it for importance. Suppose that eating and drinking were never spoken of openly, save in veiled or poetic language, and that no one ever ate food publicly, because it was considered immoral and immodest to reveal the mysteries of this natural function. We know what would occur. A considerable proportion of the community, more especially the more youthful members, possessed by an instinctive and legitimate curiosity, would concentrate their thoughts on the subject. They would have so many problems to puzzle over: How often ought I to eat? What ought I to eat? Is it wrong to eat fruit, which I like? Ought I to eat grass, which I don't like? Instinct notwithstanding, we may be quite sure that only a small minority would succeed in eating reasonably and wholesomely. The sexual secrecy of life is even more disastrous than such a nutritive secrecy would be; partly because we expend such a wealth of moral energy in directing or misdirecting it, partly because the sexual impulse normally develops at the same time as the intellectual impulse, not in the early years of life, when wholesome instinctive habits might be formed. And there is always some ignorant and

foolish friend who is prepared still further to muddle things: Eat a meal every other day! Eat twelve meals a day! Never eat fruit! Always eat grass! The advice emphatically given in sexual matters is usually not less absurd than this. When, however, the matter is fully open, the problems of food are not, indeed, wholly solved, but everyone is enabled by the experience of his fellows to reach some sort of solution suited to his own case. And when the rigid secrecy is once swept away a sane and natural reticence becomes for the first time possible.

This secrecy has not always been maintained. When the Catholic Church was at the summit of its power and influence it fully realised the magnitude of sexual problems, and took an active and inquiring interest in all the details of normal and abnormal sexuality. Even to the present time there are certain phenomena of the sexual life which have scarcely been accurately described except in ancient theological treatises. As the type of such treatises I will mention the great tome of Sanchez, *De Matrimonio*. Here you will find the whole sexual life of men and women analysed in its relationships to sin. Everything is set forth, as clearly and as concisely as it can be—without morbid prudery on the one hand, or morbid sentimentality on the other—in the coldest scientific language; the right course of action is pointed out for all the cases that may occur, and

we are told what is lawful, what a venial sin, what a mortal sin. Now I do not consider that sexual matters concern the theologian alone, and I deny altogether that he is competent to deal with them. In his hands, also, undoubtedly, they sometimes become prurient, as they can scarcely fail to become on the non-natural and unwholesome basis of asceticism, and as they with difficulty become in the open-air light of science. But we are bound to recognise the thoroughness with which the Catholic theologians dealt with these matters, and, from their own point of view, indeed, the entire reasonableness; we are bound to recognise the admirable spirit in which, successfully or not, they sought to approach them. We need to-day the same spirit and temper applied from a different standpoint. These things concern everyone; the study of these things concerns the physiologist, the psychologist, the moralist. We want to get into possession of the actual facts, and from the investigation of the facts we want to ascertain what is normal and what is abnormal, from the point of view of physiology and of psychology. We want to know what is naturally lawful under the various sexual chances that may befall man, not as the born child of sin, but as a naturally social animal, what is a venial sin against nature, what a mortal sin against nature. The answers are less easy to reach than the theologian's answers generally were, but we can at least put

ourselves in the right attitude; we may succeed in asking that question which is sometimes even more than the half of knowledge.

It is perhaps a mistake to show so plainly at the outset that I approach what may seem only a psychological question not without moral fervour. But I do not wish any mistake to be made. I regard sex as the central problem of life. And now that the problem of religion has practically been settled, and that the problem of labour has at least been placed on a practical foundation, the question of sex—with the racial questions that rest on it—stands before the coming generations as the chief problem for solution. Sex lies at the root of life, and we can never learn to reverence life until we know how to understand sex.—So, at least, it seems to me.

Having said so much, I will try to present such results as I have to record in that cold and dry light through which alone the goals of knowledge may truly be seen.

HAVELOCK ELLIS.

PREFACE TO *SEXUAL INVERSION.*

It was not my intention to publish a study of an abnormal manifestation of the sexual instinct before discussing its normal manifestations. It has happened, however, that this part of my work is ready first, and, since I thus gain a longer period to develop the central part of my subject, I do not regret the change of plan.

It is owing to the late John Addington Symonds that this part of my work has developed to its present extent. I had not at first proposed to devote a whole volume to sexual inversion. It may even be that I was inclined to slur it over as an unpleasant subject, and one that it was not wise to enlarge on. But I found in time that several persons for whom I felt respect and admiration were the congenital subjects of this abnormality. At the same time I realised that in England, more than in any other country, the law and public opinion combine to place a heavy penal burden and a severe social stigma on the manifestations of an instinct which to these persons who possess it frequently appears natural and normal. It was clear that the matter was in special need of elucidation and discussion. So that when Mr. Symonds who had long studied this subject, proposed—while still unaware that I was working at the psychology of sex—that we should collaborate in a book on sexual inversion, I willingly entered into correspondence with him regarding the scope and general tendency of the suggested book, and ultimately agreed to the proposal. I drew up a plan of the book, assigning certain chapters

to each author, and Mr. Symonds accepted the plan without modification. If I had rejected the proposed collaboration, he intended ultimately to publish a book on his own account. "I am almost certain", he wrote, "that this matter will soon attract a great deal of attention; and that it is a field in which pioneers may do excellent service for humanity". He had already privately printed two pamphlets dealing with inversion, *A Problem in Greek Ethics* and *A Problem in Modern Ethics*. It was arranged that the former, with certain enlargements suggested by me, such as a section dealing with inversion in women among the Greeks, should form one chapter of the book, and that some portions of the second pamphlet should be used in various chapters. Mr. Symonds also proposed that the authors' names should be placed on the title-page as they now appear. Then he set to work on his section of the book as planned. A few months later he was dead.

It thus happens that the book is somewhat more shapeless than it was planned to be, and that Mr. Symonds' part in it, which would otherwise have been fitted into the body of the book, mostly appears as fragmentary appendices. His share, as the book now stands, is made up of (1) *A Problem in Greek Ethics*; this is printed in full; I do not myself consider that it throws any great light on sexual inversion as a congenital psychic abnormality, but from the historical point of view it is not inferior in value and interest to anything published by its author during his life-time; (2) some portions of *A Problem in Modern Ethics*; (3) various fragments written to form part of such a book as the present; (4) extracts from letters written to myself in the period of a year or more during which I was considering Mr. Symonds' proposal as to collaboration, was

stating my own views, and asking questions as to his; the whole of this discussion was carried on by correspondence, various attempts to effect a personal meeting failing from one cause or another; (5) about half the cases given in this volume were obtained by Mr. Symonds; he had drawn up a very excellent and pointed series of questions, and had obtained numerous reliable histories. I have given no indication as to which are Mr. Symonds' cases and which my own, but, as most of my own cases were obtained in precisely the same way as his, this is of little consequence. With the exception of these cases, which Mr. Symonds placed in my hands in the original forms in which they reached him, and which I have to some extent edited, every fragment of the book which belongs to Symonds is definitely assigned to him; he was in substantial agreement with all the main conclusions; but for everything to which his name is not attached I am solely responsible. Although Mr. Symonds' share in this volume is thus merely fragmentary, it possesses, I believe, a curious and special interest, due to the fact that, unlike his work generally, these fragments are not purely literary, but embody a large amount of scientific inquisition. They go far to justify the insight of Walt Whitman—who was well acquainted with Mr. Symonds' interest in this subject—in a somewhat unusual estimate of him made in conversation shortly before his own death: "A wonderful man is Addington Symonds—someways the most indicative and penetrating and significant man of our times. Symonds is a curious fellow. I love him dearly. He is of college breed and education—horribly literary and suspicious, and enjoys things. A great fellow for delving into persons and into the concrete, and even into the physiological, the gastric—and wonderfully cute."

There can be no doubt that a peculiar amount of ignorance exists regarding the subject of sexual inversion. I know medical men of many years' general experience who have never, to their knowledge, come across a single case. We may remember, indeed, that some fifteen years ago the total number of cases recorded in scientific literature scarcely equalled those of British race which I have obtained, and that before my first cases were published not a single British case, unconnected with the asylum or the prison, had ever been recorded. Probably not a very large number of people are even aware that the turning in of the sexual instinct towards persons of the same sex can ever be regarded as in-born, so far as any sexual instinct is in-born. And very few indeed would not be surprised if it were possible to publish a list of the names of sexually inverted persons. Shortly before Mr. Symonds' death he drew up a list of men of British race whom of his own knowledge or from trustworty information he knew to be inverted. The list contained fifty-two names, many of them honourably known in Church, State, Society, Art, and Letters. I could supplement this list by another of sexually inverted women, of whom a considerable proportion are widely and honourably known in literature or otherwise, while many of the others are individuals of more than average ability or character.

It cannot be positively affirmed of all these persons that they were born inverted, but in most the inverted tendency seems to be instinctive, and appears at a somewhat early age. In any case, however, it must be realised that in this volume we are not dealing with subjects belonging to the lunatic asylum or the prison. We are concerned with individuals who live in freedom, some of them suffering intensely from their abnormal

organisation, but otherwise ordinary members of society. In a few cases, we are concerned with individuals whose moral or artistic ideals have widely influenced their fellows who know nothing of the peculiar organisation which has largely moulded those ideals.

I am indebted to several friends for assistance of various kinds, more especially to one, referred to as "Q.", who has obtained a considerable number of reliable histories for me, and has also supplied many valuable hints; to "Josiah Flynt" (whose articles on tramps in the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's Magazine* have attracted wide attention) for an appendix on homosexuality among tramps; to Drs. Kiernan, Lydston, and Talbot for assistance at various points noted in the text; and to Dr. K., an American woman physician, who kindly assisted me in obtaining cases, and has also supplied an appendix. Other obligations are mentioned in the text.

All those portions of the book which are of medical or medico-legal interest, including most of the cases, have appeared during the last three years in the *Alienist and Neurologist*, the *Journal of Mental Science*, the *Centralblatt für Nervenheilkunde*, the *Medico-Legal Journal*, and the *Archivio delle Psicopatie Sessuale*. The cases, as they appear in the present volume, have been slightly condensed, but nothing of genuine psychological interest has been omitted. Owing to unexpected difficulties and delays in the publication of the English edition of the work, a German translation by my friend Dr. Hans Kurella, editor of the *Centralblatt für Nervenheilkunde*, has already appeared (1896) in the *Bibliothek für Sozialwissenschaft*. The German edition contains some matter which has finally been rejected from the English edition as of minor importance; on the other hand much has been

added to the English edition, and the whole carefully revised.

I have only to add that if it may seem that I have unduly ignored the cases and arguments brought forward by other writers, it is by no means because I wish to depreciate the valuable work done by my predecessors in this field. It is solely because I have not desired to popularise the results previously reached, but simply to bring forward my own results. If I had not been able to present new facts in what is perhaps a new light, I should not feel justified in approaching the subject of sexual inversion at all.

HAVELOCK ELLIS.

April, 1897.



SEXUAL INVERSION.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

Prevalence of Homosexuality—Among Animals—Among the Lower Human Races—The Albanians—The Greeks—The Eskimo—The Tribes of the North-West United States—Homosexuality among Soldiers in Europe—Indifference frequently Manifested by European Lower Classes—Sexual Inversion at Rome—Homosexuality in Prisons—Among Men of Exceptional Intellect and Moral Leaders—Murat—Michelangelo—Winckelmann—Homosexuality in English History—Walt Whitman—Verlaine—Burton's Climatic Theory of Homosexuality—The Racial Factor.

CONGENITAL sexual inversion—that is to say, sexual instinct turned by inborn constitutional abnormality towards persons of the same sex—is a comparatively rare phenomenon, so far as our knowledge at present extends. Sexual attraction between persons of the same sex, due merely to the accidental absence of the natural objects of sexual attraction, is, on the other hand, of universal occurrence among all human races and among most of the higher animals. It is only during recent years that sexual inversion has been recognised; previously it was not distinguished from homosexual love generally[1]—as it is convenient to call the collective phenomena of sexual attraction within the circle of a single sex—and homosexuality was regarded as a national custom, or as an

[1] "Homosexual" is a barbarously hybrid word, and I claim no responsibility for it. It is, however, convenient, and now widely used. "Homogenic" has been suggested as a substitute.

individual vice, or as an unimportant episode in grave forms of insanity.[1]

Before approaching the study of sexual inversion in cases which we may investigate with some degree of scientific accuracy, there is interest in glancing briefly at the phenomena as they appear before us, as yet scarcely or at all differentiated, among animals, among various human races and at various periods.

Among animals in a domesticated or confined state it is easy to find evidence of homosexual attraction, due merely to the absence of the other sex. Buffon long since observed many examples of this, especially among birds. He found that if male or female birds of various species, such as partridges, fowls, doves, were shut up together, they would soon begin to have sexual relations among themselves, the males sooner and more frequently than the females. More recently Sainte-Claire Deville noticed that dogs, rams and bulls, when isolated, first became restless and dangerous and then acquired a permanent state of sexual excitement, not obeying the laws of heat, and leading them to attempts to couple together; the presence of the opposite sex at once restored them to normal conditions.[2] Lacassagne has also noted among young fowls and puppies, etc., that before ever having had relations with the opposite sex, and while in complete liberty, they make hesitating attempts at intercourse with their own sex.[3] This, indeed, together with similar perversions, may often be observed, especially in puppies, who after-

[1] Taking both its forms *en bloc*, as they are known to the police, homosexuality is seen to possess formidable proportions. Thus in France, from official papers which passed through M. Carlier's bureau during ten years (1860-70) he compiled a list of 6,342 pæderasts who came within the cognizance of the police: 2,049 Parisians, 3,709 provincials, 584 foreigners. Of these 3,432, or more than the half, could not be convicted of illegal acts.

[2] H. Sainte-Claire Deville, "De l'Internat et son influences ur l'éducation de la jeunesse," a paper read to the Academie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, 27 July, 1871, and quoted by Chevalier, *L'Inversion Sexuel*, pp. 204-5.

[3] Lacassagne, "De la Criminalité chez les Animaux," *Revue Scientifique*, 1882.

wards become perfectly normal. In all such cases we are not concerned with sexual inversion, but merely with the accidental turning of the sexual instinct into an abnormal channel, the instinct being called out by any approximate substitute, or even by diffused emotional excitement, in the absence of the normal object.

It is probable, however, that cases of true sexual inversion—in which gratification is preferably sought in the same sex—may be found among animals, although observations have rarely been made or recorded. It has been found by Muccioli, an Italian authority on pigeons, that among Belgian carrier pigeons inverted practices may occur, even in the presence of many of the other sex.[1] This seems to be true inversion, though we are not told whether these birds were also attracted towards the opposite sex. Among birds inverted sexuality seem to accompany the development of the secondary sexual characters of the opposite sex which is sometimes found. Thus, a poultry breeder describes a hen (coloured Dorking) crowing like a cock, only somewhat more harshly, as a cockerel crows, and with an enormous comb, larger than is ever seen in the male. This bird used to try to tread her fellow-hens. At the same time she layed early and regularly, and produced "grand chickens."[2] Among ducks, also, it has occasionally been observed that the female assumes at the same time both male livery and male sexual tendencies. It is probable that such observations will be multiplied in the future, and that sexual inversion in the true sense will be found commoner among animals than at present it appears to be.

Traces of homosexual practices, sometimes on a large scale, have been found among all the great divisions of the human race. It would be possible to collect a considerable body of evidence under this head. Unfortunately, however, the travellers and others on whose records

[1] Muccioli, "Degenerazione e Criminalità nei Colombi," *Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1893, p. 40.

[2] R. S. Rutherford, "Crowing Hens," *Poultry*, 26th January, 1896.

we are dependent have been so shy of touching these subjects, and so ignorant of the main points for investigation, that it is very difficult to discover sexual inversion in the proper sense in any lower race. Travellers have spoken vaguely of crimes against nature without defining the precise relationship involved nor inquiring how far any congenital impulse could be distinguished.

Looking at the phenomena generally, so far as they have been recorded among various lower races, we seem bound to recognise that there is a widespread natural instinct impelling men towards homosexual relationships, and that this has been sometimes, though very exceptionally, seized upon and developed for advantageous social purposes. On the whole, however, unnatural intercourse (sodomy) has been regarded as an anti-social offence, and punishable sometimes by the most serious penalties that could be invented. This was the case in ancient Mexico, in Peru, among the Persians, in China, among the Hebrews and the Mohammedans.

One might be tempted to expect that homosexual practices would be encouraged whenever it was necessary to keep down the population. Aristotle says that it was allowed by law in Crete for this end. And Prof. Haddon tells me that at Torres Straits a native advocated sodomy on this ground. There seems, however, on the whole, to be little evidence pointing to this utilisation of the practice. The homosexual tendency appears to have flourished chiefly among warriors and warlike peoples. During war and the separation from women war involves the homosexual instinct tends to develop; it flourished, for instance, among the Carthaginians and among the Normans, as well as among the warlike Dorians, Scythians, Tartars and Kelts; and when there has been an absence of any strong moral feeling against it, the instinct has been cultivated and idealised as a military virtue, partly because it counteracts the longing for the softening feminine influences of the home, and partly because it seems to have an inspiring influence in promoting heroism and

heightening *esprit de corps*. In the lament of David over Jonathan we have a picture of intimate friendship—"passing the love of women"—between comrades in arms among a barbarous, warlike race. There is nothing to show that such a relationship was sexual, but among warriors in New Caledonia friendships that were undoubtedly homosexual were recognised and regulated; the fraternity of arms, according to Foley, complicated with pæderasty, was more sacred than uterine fraternity. We have, moreover, a recent example of the same relationships recognised in a modern European race—the Albanians.

"Hahn, in his *Albanische Studien*," remarks Symonds, "says that the young men between 16 and 24 love boys from about 12 to 17. The Gege, as the lover is called, marries at the age of 24 or 25, and then he usually, but not always, gives up boy-love. The following passage is reported by Hahn as the actual language used to him by an Albanian Gege: 'The lover's feeling for the boy is pure as sunshine. It places the beloved on the same pedestal as a saint. It is the highest and most exalted passion of which the human breast is capable. The sight of a beautiful youth awakens astonishment in the lover, and opens the door of his heart to the delight which the contemplation of this loveliness affords. Love takes possession of him so completely that all his thought and feeling goes out in it. If he finds himself in the presence of the beloved, he rests absorbed in gazing on him. Absent, he thinks of nought but him. If the beloved unexpectedly appears he falls into confusion—changes colour, turns alternately pale and red. His heart beats faster and impedes his breathing. He has ears and eyes only for the beloved. He shuns touching him with the hand, kisses him only on the forehead, sings his praise in verse, a woman's never.' One of these love-poems of an Albanian Gege runs as follows: 'The sun, when it rises in the morning, is like you, boy, when you are near me. When your dark eye turns upon me, it drives my reason from my head.'"[2]

But the most important and the most thoroughly known case is that of Greece during its period of highest

[1] Foley, *Bull. Soc. d'Anth. de. Paris*, 9th October, 1879.

[2] *Albanische Studien*, 1894, p. 166, *et seq.* The passage was translated by J. A. Symonds.

military as well as ethical and intellectual vigour.[1] In this case, as in those already mentioned, the homosexual tendency was sometimes regarded as having beneficial results which caused it to be condoned, if not, indeed, fostered as a virtue.

There is, however, still more abundant evidence to show that homosexual practices exist and have long existed in most parts of the world outside Europe, even when subserving no obvious social end. How far they are associated with congenital inversion is usually very doubtful. In China, for instance, it seems that there are special houses devoted to male prostitution, though less numerous than the houses devoted to females. When a rich man gives a feast he sends for women to cheer the repast by music and song and for boys to serve at table and to entertain the guests by their lively conversation. The young people have been carefully brought up for this occupation, receiving an excellent education, and their mental qualities are more highly valued than their physical attractiveness. The women are less carefully brought up and less esteemed. After the meal the lads usually return home with a considerable fee. What further occurs the Chinese say little about. It seems that real and deep affection is often born of these relations, at first platonic, but in the end becoming physical—not a matter for great concern in the eyes of the Chinese. In the Chinese novels, often of a very literary character, devoted to masculine love, it seems that all the preliminaries and transports of normal love are to be found, while physical union may terminate the scene.[2] In China, however, the law may be brought into action for attempts against nature even with mutual consent; the penalty is one hundred strokes with the bamboo and a month's

[1] See Appendix A, "A Problem in Greek Ethics," by J. A. Symonds, for a full discussion of homosexual phenomena in Greece.

[2] Morache, Art "Chine", *Dict. Ency. des Sci. Med.* In Annam, also, according to Mondière (*Mem. Soc. dAnthrop.* T. i, p. 465), pæderasty has always existed, especially among young people.

imprisonment; if there is violence the penalty is decapitation;[1] I am not able to say how far the law is a dead letter.

Among the American Indians, from the Eskimo of Alaska downwards to Brazil and still further south, homosexual customs have been very frequently observed. Sometimes they are regarded by the tribe with honour, sometimes with indifference, sometimes with contempt, but they appear to be always tolerated. Although there are local differences, these customs, on the whole, seem to have much in common. The best early description which I have been able to find is by Langsdorff[2] and concerns the Aleuts of Oonalashka in Alaska:

"Boys, if they happen to be very handsome," he says, "are often brought up entirely in the manner of girls, and instructed in the arts women use to please men; their beards are carefully plucked out as soon as they begin to appear, and their chins tattooed like those of women; they wear ornaments of glass beads upon their legs and arms, bind and cut their hair in the same manner as the women, and supply their place with the men as concubines. This shocking, unnatural, and immoral practice has obtained here even from the remotest times; nor have any measures hitherto been taken to repress and restrain it; such men are known under the name of schopans."

Among the Konyagas Langsdorff found the custom much more common than among the Aleuts; he remarks that, although the mothers brought up some of their children in this way, they seemed very fond of their offspring. Lisiansky, at about the same period, tells us that:

"Of all the customs of these islanders, the most disgusting is that of men, called schoopans, living with men, and supplying the place of women. These are brought up from their infancy with females and taught all the feminine arts. They even assume the manner and dress of the women so nearly that a stranger would naturally take them for what they are not. This odious practice was formerly so prevalent that the residence of one of these

[1] Pauthier, *Chine Moderne*, p. 251.
[2] *Voyages and Travels*. 1814. Part II, p. 47.

monsters in a house was considered as fortunate; it is, however, daily losing ground."[1]

He mentions a case in which a priest had nearly married two males, when an interpreter chanced to come in and was able to inform him what he was doing. It is stated by Holmberg[2] that the boy is selected to be a schúpan because he is girl-like; this, however, is by no means clear from the narratives; if it could be demonstrated, it would be a matter of some interest. As the case stands it appears that the schúpan is effeminated purely by suggestion and association, beginning at the earliest years. In Louisiana, Florida, Yucatan, etc., somewhat similar customs exist or have existed. In Brazil men are to be found dressed as women and solely occupying themselves with feminine occupations; they are not very highly regarded.[3] They are called cudinas, *i.e.*, circumcised.

Among all the tribes of the north-west United States sexual inverts may be found. The invert is called a *boté* ("not man, not woman") by the Montana, and a *burdash* ("half man, half woman") by the Washington Indians. The boté has been carefully studied by Dr. A. B. Holder.[4] Dr. Holder finds that the boté wears woman's dress, and that his speech and manners are feminine. The dress and manners are assumed in childhood, but no sexual practices take place until puberty. These consist in the practice of *fellatio* by the boté, who probably himself experiences the orgasm at the same time. The boté is not a pæderast, although pæderasty occurs among these Indians. Dr. Holder examined a boté who was splendidly made, prepossessing, and in perfect health. With much reluctance he agreed to a careful examination. The sexual organs were quite normal, though perhaps not

[1] U. Lisiansky; *Voyage*, etc. London, 1814, p. 199.

[2] *Ethnographische Skizzen*, 1855, p. 121.

[3] C.F. P. von Martius, *Zur Ethnographie Amerika's*. Leipzig, 1867. Bd. I, p. 74. In Ancient Mexico Bernal Diaz wrote: "Erant quasi omnes sodomia commaculati, et adolescentes multi, muliebriter vestiti, ibant publice, cibum quarentes ab isto diabolico et abominabili labore."

[4] *New York Med. Jour.*, 7th December, 1889.

quite so large as his physique would suggest, but he had never had intercourse with a woman. On removing his clothes he pressed his thighs together, as a timid woman would, so as to completely conceal the sexual organs; Dr. Holder says that the thighs "really, or to my fancy," had the feminine rotundity. He has heard a boté "*beg* a male Indian to submit to his caress," and he tells that "one little fellow, while in the Agency boarding-school, was found frequently surreptitiously wearing female attire. He was punished, but finally escaped from school and became a boté, which vocation he has since followed."

These various accounts are of considerable interest, but for the most part their precise significance remains doubtful. Dr. Holder's careful description of the boté alone suggests a congenital element. All such customs render possible the existence of true congenital inversion. But they do not prove it, and observers have generally failed to inquire into the crucial points. On the whole the evidence shows that among lower races homosexual practices are regarded with considerable indifference, and the real invert, if he exists among them, as doubtless he does exist, passes unperceived or joins some sacred caste which sanctifies his exclusively homosexual inclinations.

Even in Europe to-day a considerable lack of repugnance to homosexual practices may be found among the lower classes. In this matter, as folklore shows in so many other matters, the uncultured man of civilisation is linked to the savage. In England, I am told, the soldier often has little or no objection to prostitute himself to the "swell" who pays him, although for pleasure he prefers to go to women; and Hyde Park is spoken of as a centre of male prostitution.[1] This primitive in-

[1] "Among the working masses of England and Scotland," Q. writes, "'comradeship' is well marked, though not (as in Italy) very conscious of itself. Friends often kiss each other, though this habit seems to vary a good deal in different sections and coteries. Men commonly sleep together, whether comrades or not, and so get easily familiar. Occasionally, but not so very often, this relation delays for a time, or even indefinitely, actual marriage, and in some instances is highly passionate and romantic. There is a

difference is doubtless also a factor in the prevalence of homosexuality among criminals, although here, it must be remembered, two other factors (congenital abnormality and the isolation of imprisonment) have to be considered. In Russia, Tarnowsky observes that all pæderasts are agreed that the common people are tolerably indifferent to their sexual advances, which they call "gentlemen's games". J. A. Symonds remarks on "the fact, patent to all observers, that simple folk not unfrequently display

good deal of grossness, no doubt, here and there in this direction among the masses; but there are no male prostitutes (that I am aware of) whose regular clients are manual workers. This kind of prostitution in London is common enough, but I have only a slight personal knowledge of it. Many youths are 'kept' handsomely in apartments by wealthy men, and they are, of course, not always inaccessible to others. Many keep themselves in lodgings by this means, and others eke out scanty wages by the same device—just like women, in fact. Choirboys reinforce the ranks to a considerable extent, and private soldiers to a large extent. Some of the barracks (notably Knightsbridge) are great centres. On summer evenings Hyde Park and the neighbourhood of Albert Gate is full of Guardsmen and others plying a lively trade, and with little disguise—in uniform or out. In these cases it sometimes only amounts to a chat on a retired seat or a drink at a bar; sometimes recourse is had to a room in some known lodging-house, or to one or two hotels which lend themselves to this kind of business. In any case it means a covetable addition to Tommy Atkins' pocket-money." And Mr. Raffalovich, speaking of London, remarks: "The number of soldiers who prostitute themselves is greater than we are willing to believe. It is no exaggeration to say that in certain regiments the presumption is in favour of the venality of the majority of the men." It is worth noting that there is a perfect understanding in this matter between soldiers and the police, who may always be relied upon by the former for assistance and advice. Carlier gives some curious details about the French army. Soldiers are no less sought after in France than in England or in Germany, and special houses exist for military prostitution both in Paris and the garrison towns. Many facts known about the French army go to prove that these habits have been contracted in Algeria, and have spread to a formidable extent through whole regiments. The facts related by Ulrichs about the French foreign legion, on the testimony of a credible witness who had been a pathic in his regiment, deserve attention (*Ara Spei*, p. 20; *Memnon*, p. 27). This man, who was a German, told Ulrichs that the Spanish, French and Italian soldiers were the lovers, the Swiss and German their beloved (see also General Brossier's Report, quoted by Burton, "Arabian Nights," vol x, p. 251). In Lucien Descaves' military novel, *Sous Offs* (Paris: Tresse et Stock, 1890), some details are given regarding establishments

no greater disgust for the abnormalities of sexual appetite than they do for its normal manifestations".[1] He knew of many cases in which men of lower class were flattered and pleased by the attentions of men of higher class, although not themselves inverted. And from this point of view the following case, which he mentioned, is very instructive:

"A pervert whom I can trust told me that he had made advances to upwards of one hundred men in the course of the last fourteen years, and that he had only once met with a refusal (in which case the man later on offered himself spontaneously) and only once with an attempt to extort money. Permanent relations of friendship sprang up in most instances. He admitted that he looked after these persons and helped them with his social influence and a certain amount of pecuniary support—setting one up in business, giving another something to marry on, finding places for others."

Among the peasantry in Switzerland Symonds stated that homosexual relationships were not uncommon before marriage and such relationships are lightly spoken of as

for male prostitution. See pp. 322, 412, 417 for description of the drinking shop called 'Aux Amis de l'Armée,' where a few maids were kept for show, and also of its frequenters, including in particular the Adjutant Laprévotte. Ulrichs reports that in the Austrian army lectures on homosexual vices are regularly given to cadets and conscripts (*Memnon*, p. 26). A soldier who had left the army told a friend of mine that he and many of his comrades had taken to homosexual indulgences when abroad on foreign service in a lonely station. He kept the practice up in England 'because the women of his class were so unattractive.' The captain of an English man-of-war said that he was always glad to send his men on shore after a long cruise at sea, never feeling sure how far they might not all go if left without women for a certain space of time."—J. A. Symonds. I may add that A. Hamon (*La France Sociale et Politique*, 1891, pp. 653-5; also in his *Psychologie du Militaire Professionel*, chap. x, gives details as to the prevalence of pæderasty in the French army, especially in Algeria; he regards it as extremely common, although the majority are free. A fragment of a letter by General Lamoricière (speaking of Marshal Changarnier) is quoted: "En Afrique nous en étions tous, mais lui en est resté ici."

[1] In further illustration of this Symonds pointed out that among the common people there is often no feeling against connection with a woman *per anum*. "It is common in Venice", he remarked, "to hear it said of a man's relations with a woman: '*L'ha chiavata di davanti e di dietro.*' This implies no special stigma to either party, but is meant to indicate the utmost degree of intimacy."

"Dummheiten;" he had proposed to write at some length regarding homosexuality in Switzerland, where he considered that it plays a prominent part.

What may be regarded as true sexual inversion can be traced in Europe from the beginning of the Christian era (though we can scarcely demonstrate the congenital element) especially among two classes—men of exceptional ability and criminals; and also, it may be added, among those neurotic and degenerate individuals who may be said to lie between these two classes, and on or over the borders of both. Homosexuality, mingled with various other sexual abnormalities and excesses, seems to have flourished in Rome during the Empire, and is well exemplified in the persons of many of the Emperors.[1] Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Commodus, and Heliogabalus—many of them men of great ability and, from a Roman standpoint, great moral worth—are all charged, on more or less solid evidence, with homosexual practices. In Julius Cæsar—"the husband of all women and the wife of all men"—excess of sexual activity seems to have accompanied, as is sometimes seen, an excess of intellectual activity. He was first accused of homosexual practices after a long stay in Bithynia with King Nikomedes, and the charge was very often renewed. Cæsar was proud of his physical beauty, and like many modern inverts he was accustomed carefully to shave and epilate his body to preserve the smoothness of the skin. Hadrian's love for his beautiful slave Antinous is well known; the love seems to have been deep and mutual, and Antinous has become immortalised, partly by the romance of his obscure death and partly by the new and strangely beautiful type which he has given to sculpture. Heliogabalus seems to have been a true sexual invert of feminine type; he dressed as a woman and was devoted to the men he loved.

[1] Chevalier, *L'Inversion Sexuel*, pp. 85-106, brings forward a considerable amount of evidence regarding pæderasty at Rome under the Emperors.

Homosexual practices everywhere flourish and abound among prisoners. There is abundant evidence on this point. I will only bring forward the evidence of Dr. H. D. Wey, the Physician to the Elmira Reformatory, New York. He writes to me: "Sexuality is one of the most troublesome elements with which we have to contend. I have no data as to the number of prisoners here who are sexually perverse. In my pessimistic moments I should feel like saying that all were; but probably eighty per cent. would be a fair estimate." And, referring to the sexual influence which some men have over others, he remarks that "there are many men with features suggestive of feminity that attract others to them in a way that reminds me of a bitch in heat followed by a pack of dogs."[1]

Prison life develops and fosters the homosexual tendency of criminals; but there can be little doubt that that tendency, or else a tendency to sexual indifference (psychosexual hermaphroditism), is a radical character of a very large number of criminals. We may also find it to a considerable extent among tramps, an allied class of undoubted degenerates, who, save for brief seasons, are less familiar with prison life. I am able to bring forward interesting evidence on this point by an acute observer who has lived much among tramps in various countries, and has largely devoted himself to the study of them.[2]

The fact that homosexuality is especially common

[1] The following note is by J. A. Symonds: "Balzac, in *Une Dernière Incarnation de Vautrin*, describes the morals of the French *bagnes*. Dostoieffsky, in 'Prison Life in Siberia,' touches on the same subject. See his portrait of Sirotkin, p. 52 *et seq.*, p. 120 (edition J. and R. Maxwell, London). We may compare Carlier, *Les Deux Prostitutions*, pp. 300-1. for an account of the violence of homosexual passions in French prisons. The initiated are familiar with the fact in English prisons. Bouchard, in his 'Confessions,' (Paris, Liseux, 1881), describes the convict station at Marseilles in 1630."

[2] See Appendix B, "Homosexuality among Tramps," by "Josiah Flynt."

among men of exceptional intellect was long since noted by Dante :

> " In somma sappi, che tutti fur cherci,
> E litterati grandi, et di gran fama
> D'un medesino peccato al mondo lerci."[1]

It has not, I think, been noted—largely because the evidence was insufficiently clear—that among religious or moral leaders, and other persons with strong ethical instincts, there is a tendency towards the more elevated forms of homosexual feeling. This may be traced not only in some of the great moral teachers of old but also in men and women of our own day. It is fairly evident why this should be so. Just as the repressed love of a woman or a man has in normally constituted persons frequently furnished the motive power for an enlarged philanthropic activity, so the person who sees his own sex also bathed in sexual glamour brings to his work of human service an ardour wholly unknown to the normally constituted individual; morality to him has become one with love. I am not prepared here to insist on this point, but no one, I think, who studies sympathetically the histories and experiences of great moral leaders can fail in many cases to note the presence of this feeling, more or less finely sublimated from any gross physical manifestation.

In modern Europe we find the strongest evidence of the presence of what may fairly be called true sexual

[1] *Inferno, XV.* For Symonds's and for my own observations on this point see Preface. Mantegazza (*Gli Amori degli Uomini*) remarks that in his own restricted circle he is acquainted with "a French publicist, a German poet, an Italian statesman and a Spanish jurist, all men of exquisite taste and highly cultivated mind," who are sexually inverted. Krafft-Ebing, in the preface to his *Psychopathia Sexualis*, referring to the "numberless" communications he has received from these "step-children of Nature," remarks that "the majority of the writers are men of high intellectual and social position, and often possess very keen emotions." Raffalovich (*Uranisme*, p. 197) names among distinguished inverts, Alexander the Great, Socrates, Sophocles, Pindar, Pheidias, Epaminondas, Virgil, the great Condé, Prince Eugene, etc. The question of Virgil's inversion is discussed in the *Revista di Filologia*, 1890, fas 7-9, but I have not been able to see this review.

inversion when we investigate the men of the Renaissance. The intellectual independence of those days and the influence of antiquity seem to have liberated and fully developed the impulses of those abnormal individuals who would otherwise have found no clear expression, and passed unnoticed.[1] Muret, for instance, a distinguished French humanist, was throughout his whole life the victim of his own homosexual impulses. He taught philosophy and civil law at Paris to crowds of students, but was charged with unnatural crime and thrown into the Châtelet. He resolved to starve himself to death, but, on being liberated by the help of influential friends, he went to Toulouse and taught Roman law until once more he was accused of an unnatural offence with a young man, and the two were condemned to be burnt. Muret escaped, however, and fled to Italy, where he became the friend of many distinguished men, although similar charges pursued him to the last. Michelangelo, one of the very chief artists of the Renaissance period, we cannot now doubt, was sexually inverted. The evidence furnished by his own letters and poems, as well as the researches of numerous recent workers—Parlagreco, Scheffler, J. A. Symonds, etc.—may be said to have placed this beyond question.[2] He belonged to a family of five brothers, four of whom never married, and so far as is known left no offspring; the fifth only left one male heir. His biographer describes Michelangelo as "a man of peculiar, not altogether healthy, nervous temperament". He was indifferent to women; only in one case, indeed, during his long life is there evidence even of friendship with a woman, while he was very sensitive to the beauty of men, and his friendships were

[1] "Italian literature," remarks Symonds, "can show the *Rime Burlesche*, Beccadelli's *Hermaphroditus*, the *Canti Carnascialeschi*, the Macaronic poems of Fidentius, and the remarkably outspoken romance entitled *Alcibiade fanciullo a Scola*."

[2] See Parlagreco, *Michelangelo Buonarotti*, Naples, 1888; Ludwig von Scheffler, *Michelangelo, Ein Renaissance Studie*, 1892; *Archivio di Psichiatria*, Vol. XV, fas i, ii, p. 129; J. A. Symonds, *Life of Michelangelo*, 1893.

very tender and enthusiastic. At the same time there is no reason to suppose that he formed any physically passionate relationships with men, and even his enemies seldom or never made this accusation against him. We may probably accept the estimate of his character given by his latest biographer:

"Michelangelo Buonarotti was one of those exceptional, but not uncommon, men, who are born with sensibilities abnormally deflected from the ordinary channel. He showed no partiality for women, and a notable enthusiasm for the beauty of young men. He was a man of physically frigid temperament, extremely sensitive to beauty of the male type, who habitually philosophised his emotions, and contemplated the living objects of his admiration as amiable not only for their personal qualities, but also for their æsthetical attractiveness."[1]

A temperament of this kind seems to have had no significance for the men of those days; they were blind to all homosexual emotion which had no result in sodomy. Plato found such attraction a subject for sentimental metaphysics, but it was not until nearly our own time that it again became a subject of interest and study. Yet it undoubtedly had profound influence on Michelangelo's art, impelling him to find every kind of human beauty in the male form, and only a grave dignity or tenderness, divorced from every quality that is sexually desirable, in the female form. This deeply-rooted abnormality is at once the key to the melancholy of Michelangelo and to the mystery of his art. His contemporary, the painter Bazzi, seems also to have been radically inverted, and to this fact he owed his nickname Sodoma. As, however, he was married and had children, it may be that he was what we should now call a psychosexual hermaphrodite. He was a great artist who has been dealt with unjustly, partly, perhaps, because of the prejudice of Vasari—whose admiration for Michelangelo amounted to worship, but who is contemptuous towards Sodoma and grudging of praise—partly because his work is little known out of Italy and not very easy of

[1] J. A. Symonds, *Life of Michelangelo*, Vol. II, p. 384.

access there. Reckless, unbalanced, and eccentric in his life, Sodoma, if we may judge him by the interesting portrait in the Pitti Palace, was a man of neurotic type, full of nervous energy, and of deeply melancholic temperament. In his painting there is a peculiar feminine softness and warmth, and a very marked and tender feeling for masculine, but scarcely virile, beauty. In more recent times Winckelmann, who was the initiator of a new Greek renaissance and of the modern appreciation of ancient art, lies under what seems to be a well grounded suspicion of sexual inversion. His letters to male friends are full of the most passionate expressions of love. His violent death also appears to have been due to a love-adventure with a man. The murderer was a cook, a wholly uncultivated man, a criminal who had already been condemned to death, and shortly before murdering Winckelmann for the sake of plunder he was found to be on very intimate terms with him.[1] It is noteworthy that sexual inversion should so often be found associated with the study of antiquity. It must not, however, be too hastily concluded that this is due to suggestion and that to abolish the study of Greek literature and art would be largely to abolish sexual inversion. What has really occurred in those recent cases that may be studied, and therefore without doubt in the older cases, is that the subject of congenital sexual inversion is attracted to the study of Greek antiquity because he finds there the explanation and the apotheosis of his own obscure impulses.

[1] See Moll, *Die Conträre Sexualempfindung*, 1891, pp. 49-50. Other German writers brought forward as inverted by Moll and Raffalovich are Platen, H. P. Moritz, and Iffland. Raffalovich also traces homosexual episodes in the lives of Goethe, Moliere, Montaigne, Alfieri, Casanova, etc. These writers also refer in the same connection to various kings and potentates, including the Sultan Baber, Henri III. of France, William II., Edward II., James I., and William III. of England, and perhaps Queen Anne and George III, Frederick the Great, and his brother Heinrich, Popes Paul II., Sixtus IV., and Julius II., Ludwig II. of Bavaria, etc. Kings seem peculiarly inclined to homosexuality. In this connection we may remember that, as Jacoby and many others have shown, monarchical families are very subject to degeneration.

Undoubtedly that study tends to develop these impulses.

In English history we find many traces of homosexual practices. In Norman times it seems to have flourished, as it always has wherever the Normans have gone. William Rufus was undoubtedly inverted. Edward II and James I were certainly abnormally attracted to their own sex.[1] Marlowe, whose most powerful drama, *Edward II*, is devoted to a picture of the relations between that king and his minions, is himself suspected of homosexuality. An ignorant informer brought certain charges of freethought and criminality against him, and further accused him of asserting that they are fools who love not boys. These charges have doubtless been coloured by the vulgar channel through which they passed, but it seems absolutely impossible to regard them as the inventions of a mere gallows-bird such as this informer was.[2] Moreover, Marlowe's poetic work, while it shows him by no means insensitive to the beauty of women, also reveals a special and peculiar sensitiveness to masculine beauty. Marlowe clearly had a reckless delight in all things unlawful, and it seems probable that he possessed the psychosexual hermaphrodite's temperament. Shakespeare has also been discussed from this point of view. All that can be said, however, is that he addressed a long series of sonnets to a youthful male friend. These sonnets are written in lover's language of a very tender and noble order. They do not appear to imply any relationship that the writer regarded as shameful or that would be so regarded by the world. Moreover, they seem to represent but a single episode in the life of a very sensitive,

[1] Raffalovich very properly calls attention to the extraordinary manner in which the biographer of James I, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, has been allowed to suppress the evidence for that monarch's homosexual practices, and to treat him as a model of personal purity in the most conventional sense.

[2] See Appendix to my edition of Marlowe in the Mermaid Series, first edition. For a study of Marlowe's Gaveston, regarded as "the hermaphrodite in soul," see J. A. Nicklin, *Free Review*, December, 1895.

many-sided nature.[1] There is no other evidence in Shakespeare's work of homosexual instinct such as we may trace throughout Marlowe's, while there is abundant evidence of a constant preoccupation with women. Unlike Marlowe, Shakespeare seems to have been a man who was fundamentally in harmony with the moral laws of the society in which he lived.

A great writer of our own time, who has been widely regarded with reverence as the prophet-poet of Democracy[2]—Walt Whitman—has aroused discussion by his sympathetic attitude towards passionate friendship, or "manly love" as he calls it, in *Leaves of Grass*. In this book—in "Calamus," "Drum-taps," and elsewhere—Whitman celebrates a friendship in which physical contact and a kind of silent voluptuous emotion are essential elements. In order to settle the question as to the precise significance of "Calamus," J. A. Symonds wrote to Whitman, frankly posing the question. The answer (written from Camden on August 19th, 1890) is the only statement of Whitman's attitude towards homosexuality, and it is therefore desirable that it should be set on record:

"About the questions on 'Calamus', etc., they quite daze me. 'Leaves of Grass' is only to be rightly construed by and within its own atmosphere and essential character—all its pages and pieces so coming strictly under. That the Calamus part has ever allowed the possibility of such construction as mentioned is terrible. I am fain to hope that the pages themselves are not to be even mentioned for such gratuitous and quite at the time undreamed and unwished possibility of morbid inferences—which are disavowed by me and seem damnable."

[1] As Raffalovich acutely points out, the twentieth sonnet, with its reference to the "one thing to my purpose nothing," is alone enough to show that Shakespeare was not a genuine invert, as then he would have found the virility of the loved object beautiful.

[2] It is as such that Whitman should be approached, and I would desire to protest against the tendency, now marked in many quarters, to treat him merely as an invert, and to vilify him or glorify him accordingly. However important inversion may be as a psychological key to Whitman's personality, it plays but a small part in Whitman's work, and for many who care for that work a negligible part.

It seems from this that Whitman had never realised that there is any relationship whatever between the passionate emotion of physical contact from man to man, as he had experienced it and sung of it, and the act which with other people he would regard as a crime against nature. This may be singular, for there are many inverted persons who have found satisfaction in friendships less physical and passionate than those described in *Leaves of Grass*, but Whitman was a man of concrete, emotional, instinctive temperament, lacking in analytical power, receptive to all influences, and careless of harmonising them.[1] He would most certainly have refused to admit that he was the subject of inverted sexuality. It remains true, however, that "manly love" occupies in his work a predominance which it would scarcely hold in the feelings of the "average man" whom Whitman wishes to honour. A normally constituted person, having assumed the very frank attitude taken up by Whitman, would be impelled to devote far more space and far more ardour

[1] I should add that some friends and admirers of Whitman are not prepared to accept the evidence of this letter. I am indebted to "Q." for the following statement of the objections:

"I think myself that it is a mistake to give much weight to this letter—perhaps a mistake to introduce it at all, since if introduced it will of course carry weight.

"And this for three or four reasons:

"(1) That it is difficult to reconcile the letter itself (with its strong tone of disapprobation) with the general 'atmosphere' of *Leaves of Grass*, the tenor of which is to leave everything open and free.

"(2) That the letter is in hopeless conflict with the 'Calamus' section of poems For, whatever moral lines W. W. may have drawn at the time of writing these poems, it seems to me quite incredible that the possibility of certain inferences, morbid or other, was undreamed of.

"(3) That the letter was written only a few months before his last illness and death, and is the only expression of the kind that he appears to have given utterance to.

"(4) That Symonds' letter, to which this was a reply, is not forthcoming, and we consequently do not know what rash expressions it may have contained—leading W. (with his extreme caution) to hedge his name from possible use to justify dubious practices."

I may add that I endeavoured to obtain Symonds's letter, but he was unable to produce it, nor has any copy of it been found among his papers.

to the subject of sexual relationships with women and all that is involved in maternity than is accorded to them in *Leaves of Grass*. Some of Whitman's extant letters to young men, I understand, though they do not throw definite light on this question, are not of a character that easily permits of publication; and, although a man of remarkable physical vigour, he never felt inclined to marry.[1] It remains somewhat difficult to classify him from the sexual point of view, but we can scarcely fail to recognise the presence of the homosexual instinct, however latent and unconscious.

Concerning another great writer whose name may be mentioned without impropriety—Paul Verlaine, the first of modern French poets—it is possible to speak with less hesitation. A man who possessed in fullest measure the irresponsible impressionability of genius, Verlaine—as his work shows and as he himself admitted—all his life oscillated between normal and homosexual love, at one period attracted to women, at another to men. He was without doubt a psychosexual hermaphrodite. An early connection with another young poet, Arthur Rimbaud, terminated in a violent quarrel with his friend, and led to Verlaine's imprisonment at Mons. In after years he gave expression to the exalted passion of this relationship—"mon grand péché radieux"—in "Læti et Errabundi," published in the volume entitled *Parallèlement;* and in later poems he has told of less passionate and less sensual relationships which were yet more than friendship, for instance, in the poem "Mon ami, ma plus belle amitié, ma meilleure," in *Bonheur*. I may quote, as of some psychological interest, a few stanzas from "Ces Passions," in *Parallèlement*:—

> "Ces passions qu'eux seuls nomment encore amours
> Sont des amours aussi, tendres et furieuses,
> Avec des particularités curieuses
> Que n'ont pas les amours certes de tous les jours.

[1] It appears, however, that he acknowledged having had several children.

"Même plus qu'elles et mieux qu'elles héroïques,
Elles se parent de splendeurs d'âme et de sang
Telles qu'au prix d'elles les amours dans le rang
Ne sont que Ris et Jeux ou besoins érotiques,

"Que vains proverbes, que riens d'enfants trop gâtés.
'Ah! les pauvres amours banales, animales,
Normales! Gros goûts lourds ou frugales fringales
Sans compter la sottise et des fécondités!'"

In this brief glance at some of the ethnographic, historical and literary aspects of homosexual passion there is one other phenomenon which must be mentioned. This is the curious fact that we seem to find a special proclivity to homosexuality (whether or not involving a greater frequency of congenital inversion is not usually clear) among certain races and in certain regions. On the whole, this proclivity seems more common in the hotter regions of the globe.[1] In Europe it is probably best

[1] Sir Richard Burton, who devoted special attention to this point, regarded the phenomenon as "geographical and climatic, not racial". His conclusions may thus be stated in his own words:—

"(1) There exists what I shall call a 'Sotadic Zone,' bounded westwards by the northern shores of the Mediterranean (N. lat. 43°) and by the southern (N. lat. 30°). Thus the depth would be 780 to 800 miles, including meridional France, the Iberian peninsula, Italy and Greece, with the coast regions of Africa from Morocco to Egypt.

"(2) Running eastward the Sotadic Zone narrows, embracing Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Afghanistan, Sind, the Punjaub, and Kashmir.

"(3) In Indo-China the belt begins to broaden, enfolding China, Japan, and Turkestan.

"(4) It then embraces the South Sea Islands and the New World, where, at the time of its discovery, Sotadic love was, with some exceptions, an established racial institution.

"(5) Within the Sotadic Zone the vice is popular and endemic, held at the worst to be a mere peccadillo, whilst the races to the north and south of the limits here defined practise it only sporadically, amid the opprobrium of their fellows, who, as a rule, are physically incapable of performing the operation, and look upon it with the liveliest disgust." He adds: "The only physical cause for the practice which suggests itself to me, and that must be owned to be purely conjectural, is that within the Sotadic Zone there is a blending of the masculine and feminine temperaments, a crasis which elsewhere only occurs sporadically" ("Arabian Nights," 1885, vol. x, pp. 205-254). The theory of the Sotadic Zone is interesting, but as

illustrated by the case of southern Italy, which in this respect is totally distinct from northern Italy, although Italians generally are franker than men of northern race in admitting their sexual practices. How far the homosexuality of southern Italy may be due to Greek influence and Greek blood it is not a present easy to say.

It must be remembered that, in dealing with a northern country like England—and in the present volume I am chiefly dealing with England—homosexual phenomena do not present themselves in the same way as they do in southern Italy to-day, or in ancient Greece. In Greece the homosexual impulse was recognised and idealised; a man could be an open homosexual lover, and yet, like Epaminondas, be a great and honoured citizen of his country. There was no reason whatever why a man who in mental and physical constitution was perfectly normal should not adopt a custom that was regarded as respectable, and sometimes as even specially honourable. But it is quite otherwise in a country like England or the United States.[1] Here all our traditions and all our moral ideals, as well as the law, are energetically opposed to every manifestation of homosexual passion. It requires a very strong impetus to go against this compact social force which on every side constrains the individual into the paths of heterosexual love. That impetus, in a well-bred individual who leads the normal life of his fellow-men and who feels the ordinary degree of respect for the social feeling surrounding him, can only be supplied by a fundamental—usually, it is probable, inborn—perversion of the sexual instinct, rendering the individual organically abnormal. It is with

Symonds pointed out, it does not account for the custom among the Normans, Kelts, Scythians, Bulgars, and Tartars, and, moreover, in various of these regions different views have prevailed at different periods. Burton was wholly unacquainted with the recent psychological investigations into sexual inversion.

[1] It is true that in the solitude of great modern cities it is possible for small homosexual coteries to form, in a certain sense, an environment of their own favourable to their abnormality; yet this fact hardly modifies the general statement made in the text.

this fundamental abnormality, usually called sexual inversion, that we shall here be concerned. There is no evidence to show that homosexuality in Greece was a congenital perversion, although it appears that Cœlius Aurelianus affirms that in the opinion of Parmenides it was hereditary. Doubtless in a certain proportion of cases the impulse was organic, and it may well be that there was an organic and racial predisposition to homosexuality among the Greeks, or, at all events, the Dorians. But the state of social feeling, however it originated, induced a large proportion of the ordinary population to adopt homosexuality as a fashion. So that any given number of homosexual persons among the Greeks would have presented a far smaller proportion of constitutionally abnormal individuals than a like number in England. In a similar manner—though I do not regard the analogy as complete—infanticide or the exposition of children was practised in some of the early Greek States by parents who were completely healthy and normal; in England a married woman who destroys her child is in nearly every case demonstrably diseased or abnormal. For this reason I am unable to see that homosexuality in ancient Greece —while of great interest as a social and psychological problem—throws light on sexual inversion as we know it in England or the United States.

CHAPTER II.

THE STUDY OF SEXUAL INVERSION.

Westphal—Hössli—Casper—Ulrichs—Tarnowsky—Krafft-Ebing—Moll—Schrenck-Notzing—Chevalier—Lydston—Kiernan—Raffalovich.

WESTPHAL, an eminent professor of psychiatry at Berlin, may be said to be the first to put the study of sexual inversion on an assured scientific basis. In 1870 he published in the *Archiv für Psychiatrie*, of which he was for many years editor, the detailed history of a young woman who, from her earliest years, was sexually inverted: she liked to dress as a boy, only cared for boys' games, and as she grew up was sexually attracted only to women, with whom she formed a series of tender relationships, in which the friends obtained sexual gratification by mutual caresses; while she blushed and was shy in the presence of women, more especially the girl with whom she chanced to be in love, she was always absolutely indifferent in the presence of men. Westphal combined keen scientific insight with a rare degree of personal sympathy for those who came under his care, and it was this combination of qualities which enabled him to grasp the true nature of a case such as this, which by most medical men at that time would have been hastily dismissed as a vulgar instance of vice or insanity. Westphal perceived that this abnormality was congenital, not acquired, so that it could not be termed vice; and, while he insisted on the presence of neurotic elements, his observations showed the absence of anything that could legitimately be termed insanity. He gave to this condition the name of "contrary sexual feeling" *(conträre Sexualempfindung)*, by which it is to-day

usually known in Germany. The way was thus made clear for the rapid progress of our knowledge of this abnormality. New cases were published in quick succession, at first exclusively in Germany, and more especially in Westphal's *Archiv*, but soon in other countries also, chiefly Italy and France.

While Westphal was the first to place the study of sexual inversion on a progressive footing, many persons had previously obtained glimpses into the subject. Thus, in 1791, two cases were published[1] of men who showed a typical emotional attraction to their own sex, though it was not quite clearly made out that the inversion was congenital. In 1836, again, a Swiss writer called Hössli published a rather diffuse and tedious work, entitled *Eros*, which contained much material of a literary character bearing on this matter. He seems to have been moved to write this book by a trial which had excited considerable attention at that time. A man of good position had suddenly murdered a youth, and was executed for the crime, which, according to Hössli, was due to homosexual love and jealousy. Casper, the chief medico-legal authority of his time in Germany—for it is in Germany that the foundations of the study of sexual inversion have been laid—pointed out in 1852, in Casper's *Vierteljahrsschrift*, that pæderasty, in a broad sense of the word, was sometimes due to a congenital psychic condition, and also that it by no means necessarily involved sodomy *(immissio penis in anum)*. Casper brought forward a considerable amount of valuable evidence concerning these cardinal points, which he was the first to note, but he failed to realise the full significance of his observations, and they had no immediate influence.

The man, however, who has done more than anyone else to bring to light the phenomena of sexual inversion had not been concerned either with the medical or the criminal aspects of the matter. Carl Heinrich Ulrichs,

[1] Moritz, *Magazin für Erfahrungsseelenkunde*, Berlin, Bd. VIII.

who for many years expounded and defended homosexual love, and whose views are said to have had some influence in drawing Westphal's attention to the matter, was a Hanoverian legal official *(Amtsassessor)*, himself sexually inverted. From 1864 onwards, at first under the name of "Numa Numantius" and subsequently under his own name, Ulrichs published in various parts of Germany a long series of works dealing with this question, and made various attempts to obtain a revision of the legal position of the sexual invert in Germany.[1] Since 1889 he has issued a Latin periodical from Aquila in the Abruzzi of southern Italy, but he has now ceased his homosexual propaganda. For many years Ulrichs was alone in his efforts to gain scientific recognition for congenital homosexuality.[2] He devised (with allusion to Uranos in Plato's Symposium) the word Urning, ever since frequently used for the homosexual lover, while he called the normal heterosexual lover a Dioning (from Dione). He regarded Uranismus, or homosexual love, as a congenital abnormality by which a female soul had become united with a male body—*anima muliebris in corpore virili inclusa*—and his theoretical speculations have formed the starting-point for many similar speculations. His writings are remarkable in various respects, although, on account of the polemical warmth with which, as one pleading *pro domo*, he argued his cause, they have not had a marked influence on scientific thought.

This privilege was reserved for Westphal. After he had shown the way and thrown open his journal for their publication, new cases appeared in rapid succession. In Italy, also, Ritti, Tamassia, Lombroso, and others began to study these phenomena, and it seems to have been in Italy that the convenient term "sexual inversion" was first used. When the matter was taken up in France,

[1] For a paraphrase of Ulrichs' opinions, see Appendix C.

[2] Ulrichs scarcely went so far as to assert that both homosexual and heterosexual love are equally normal and healthy; this has, however, been argued more recently. See Appendix D.

the same term was used; in 1882 Charcot and Magnan published in the *Archives de Neurologie* the first important study which appeared in France concerning sexual inversion and allied sexual perversions. They regarded sexual inversion as an episode (*syndrome*) in a more fundamental process of hereditary degeneration, and compared it with such morbid obsessions as dipsomania and kleptomania. Magnan has since frequently observed and studied the phenomena of sexual inversion, both in his clinique at Sainte-Anne and in various periodicals, and some of his pupils, more especially Sérieux,[1] have brought valuable contributions to the subject. From a somewhat more medico-legal standpoint, the study of sexual inversion in France has been furthered by Brouardel, and still more by Lacassagne, who wrote the important article on "Pédérastie" in the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales*, and whose stimulating influence at Lyons has produced such fruitful results in the work of many pupils. From this point of view, also, Legludic has lately made a valuable contribution to the subject in his book *Notes et Observations de Médecine Légale: Attentats aux Mœurs* (Paris, 1896).

During the last ten years, the increased attention devoted to these phenomena, and the rapid growth of fresh observations, have led to various works devoted chiefly or entirely to sexual inversion. Thus, in 1886, Professor Tarnowsky, of Saint Petersburg, published his *Krankhaften Erscheinungen des Geschlechtssinnes*. The book is of much interest from the abundance of its facts, but it can scarcely be said that it greatly furthered the scientific study of sexual inversion. Tarnowsky's experience seems to have been of a somewhat special character. He insists chiefly on the effeminate and passive side of inversion in males. He fails to arrange the phenomena he has witnessed with much system or insight, and he does not sufficiently distinguish between male prostitution and sexual inversion

[1] Paul Sérieux, *Les Anomalies de L'Instinct Sexuel*, Paris, 1888.

as a psychological abnormality. He admits three kinds of congenital sexual inversion, all the outcome of a hereditarily enfeebled nervous system: the first chronic and persistent, the second periodical, the third epileptic.

Of much more importance in the history of the theory of sexual inversion is the work of Dr. R. von Krafft-Ebing. This writer, who stands at the head of Austrian psychiatric and medico-legal authorities, is now professor of psychiatry and nervous diseases at Vienna. Since 1877 he has taken an active interest in all the various forms of sexual perversion, and his great work, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, which, in its eighth edition (1893), contains two hundred histories, mostly original cases, is the best known book on the subject of sexual perversion, and the chief store-house of facts.[1] Krafft-Ebing's methods are open to some objection. His mind is not of a severely critical order. He has poured out new and ever enlarged editions of his great work with extraordinary rapidity; eight having appeared in the course of five years, while, during the same period, he issued at least two editions of a volume of *Neue Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Psychopathia Sexualis*, containing material which has eventually been nearly all absorbed in the larger work. The various editions of this latter have been remodeled from time to time, and interesting material has sometimes been thrown out. Krafft-Ebing has constantly introduced new subdivisions into his classification of sexual perversions, and, although this rather fine-spun classification has doubtless contributed to give precision to the subject and to advance its scientific study, it certainly cannot be maintained in the future. Krafft-Ebing's great service lies in the clinical enthusiasm with which he has approached the study of sexual perversions. With the firm conviction that he is conquering a great neglected field of morbid psychology, which rightly belongs to the physician, he has accumulated without any false shame a vast mass of detailed histories,

[1] An English translation, by Dr. C. G. Chaddock, has been published in Philadelphia.

and his reputation has induced sexually abnormal individuals in all directions to send him their autobiographies, in the desire to benefit their fellow-sufferers.

It is as the great clinician of sexual inversion, rather than as its psychologist, that we must regard Krafft-Ebing. At the same time it is desirable to glance at his general attitude towards the phenomena. Referring to the fact that the sexual organs of inverts are generally normal, he continues:

"Here the cause can only be regarded as an anomaly of central conditions, an abnormal psychosexual predisposition. The anatomical and functional foundations of this predisposition are at present altogether obscure. Since in nearly every case the subject of the perverse sexual instinct exhibits a neuropathic taint in many respects, and this is connected with hereditary degenerative conditions, every anomaly of the psychosexual emotion must be described clinically as a functional sign of degeneration. This perverse sexuality appears spontaneously with the developing sexual life, without external causes, as the individual manifestation of an abnormal modification of the *vita sexualis*, and must then be regarded as a congenital phenomenon; or it develops as a result of special injurious influences working on a sexuality which had at first been normal, and must then be regarded as an acquired phenomenon. On what this mysterious phenomenon, the acquired homosexual instinct, may rest, at present entirely escapes exploration, and belongs to the region of hypothesis. It is probable, from the careful investigation of so-called acquired cases, that the predisposition here consists in a latent homosexuality, or, at least, bisexuality, which requires for its manifestation the operation of accidental causes to awaken it from its slumber."[1]

He divides acquired sexual inversion into four stages: (1) Simple perversion of the sexual instinct; (2) *Eviratio* and *defeminatio*, in which the whole personality of the individual undergoes a change of disposition in harmony with the changed sexual instinct. (3) Transition to *metamorphosis sexualis paranoica*, in which the change is so complete as at times even to delude the subject into believing that there has been an actual physical change of sex. (4) *Metamorphosis sexualis paranoica*, involving syste-

[1] *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 8th ed., 1893, p. 188.

matic delusions as to a change of sex. Krafft-Ebing also recognises four stages of the congenital form: (1) Psychosexual hermaphroditism, in which, while the homosexual instinct predominates, there are traces of the normal heterosexual instinct. (2) Homosexuality, in which the instinct goes out only towards the same sex. (3) *Effeminatio* and viraginity, in which the whole psychic disposition corresponds to the abnormal instinct. (4) *Androgynia* and *gynandria*, in which the general bodily form corresponds in some degree to the abnormal sexual instinct and psychic disposition.

In 1891 Dr. Albert Moll, of Berlin, published his work entitled *Die Conträre Sexualempfindung*. Susequently a new edition has appeared, very much enlarged, and the book has been translated into French. It may be regarded as, on the whole, the most important discussion of sexual inversion which has yet appeared. This is not due merely to the fact that Moll has published a notable number of new cases. It is true that some of the most interesting and carefully detailed cases in the late editions of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* were supplied by Dr. Moll, who has not only been able to fall back on his own medical practice as a specialist in nervous diseases, but has received great assistance from the Berlin police, who have furnished him with much material of great interest; he has also had the valuable advice throughout of a distinguished German scholar who is himself sexually inverted. In this work, however, Moll refrains from making the hopeless attempt to rival Krafft-Ebing in wealth of clinical material. He attacks the problem which, now that so much material has been accumulated, becomes of primary importance—the nature and causes of sexual inversion. He discusses the phenomena as a psychologist even more than as a doctor. For this task his previous able work on hypnotism shows that he was well qualified. Moll is accustomed always to bear in mind the broader scientific bearings of the problems he attacks. He is also a keen critic who rarely fails in acutely placing his finger on the

weak points in accepted opinions, and he is judicially cautious in the statement of his conclusions. For the first time, Moll entirely clears away the ancient prejudices and superstitions surrounding sexual inversion, which even Krafft-Ebing had sometimes incautiously repeated. He accepts the generally received doctrine that the sexually inverted usually belong to families in which various nervous and mental disorders prevail (1st ed., p. 160), but he points out at the same time (p. 162) that it is not in all cases possible to prove that we are concerned with individuals possessing a hereditary neurotic taint. He shows excellent judgment, also, in rejecting any minute classification of sexual inverts. He only recognises psychosexual hermaphroditism and homosexuality. At the same time he casts doubt on the existence of acquired inversion, in a strict sense, except in occasional cases. Dealing with the supposed influence of "vice" in the causation of sexual inversion, he ridicules (perhaps too hastily) the theory that excessive indulgence in women can produce an inclination towards men, while he regards the tendency of old men to gratify their lust with boys as due to incipient brain disease. No one who wishes to understand the nature of sexual inversion can afford to ignore Moll's discussion of the problem, inconclusive as in many respects he is compelled to leave it.

Several books have since appeared bearing on sexual inversion, although they are scarcely of equal importance to Krafft-Ebing's book or Moll's. In 1892 Baron von Schrenck-Notzing, of Münich, a physician who has occupied himself much with hypnotism, published a work entitled *Suggestionstherapie*, in which he argued that sexual perversions generally are largely caused by suggestion, and may be cured by suggestion. He has produced a number of cases in point, and his work should not be neglected, but it is too much dominated by a single idea to be of great scientific value.

In 1893 Dr. J. Chevalier, a pupil of Lacassagne, and the author of an earlier study of slighter character, pub-

lished a comprehensive work on all the various aspects of the matter, entitled *L'Inversion Sexuelle*. It is written with much facility and considerable exuberance. The author is very well read in all the various aspects of his subject, and he presents the results of his reading in a copious and usually accurate manner. While, however, the book may be read with some profit, though containing little that is original, it cannot be recommended as a handbook to the study of sexual inversion. The writer is lacking in critical perception, and repeats without hesitation many of the old traditions which, since Moll's investigation of the subject, can no longer be accepted without proof.

In America, Hammond, Kiernan, and Lydston, have for many years, even before the publication of Krafft-Ebing's book, devoted study to this subject. I may refer especially to a lecture by Dr. G. Frank Lydston, of Chicago, on Sexual Perversion,[1] which contains the following classification of sexual inverts, in many respects superior to Krafft-Ebing's :—

I. Congenital and perhaps hereditary sexual perversion.

- *a*. Sexual perversion without defect of structure of sexual organs.
- *b*. Sexual perversion with defect of genital structure, *e.g.*, hermaphroditism.
- *c*. Sexual perversion with obvious defect of cerebral development, *e.g.*, idiocy.

II. Acquired sexual perversion.

- *a*. Sexual perversion from pregnancy, the menopause, ovarian disease, hysteria, etc.
- *b*. Sexual perversion from acquired cerebral disease, with or without recognised insanity.
- *c*. Sexual perversion (?) from vice.
- *d*. Sexual perversion from over stimulation of the nerves of sexual sensibility and the receptive sexual centres, incidental to sexual excesses and masturbation.

[1] *Phila. Med. and Surg. Reporter*, 7th Sept., 1889.

Dr. J. S. Kiernan, of Chicago, has suggested a somewhat simpler classification: (1) Those cases which originate in imperative conceptions; (2) those due to congenital defect; (3) those which are incident to insanity, periods of involution, and to neurotic states; (4) those which result from vice.[1]

In England Mr. André Raffalovich has written in French and published at Lyons, in Lacassagne's Bibliothèque de Criminologie, *Uranisme et Unisexualité* (1896). This book deals chiefly with congenital inversion. Mr. Raffalovich publishes no new cases, but he clearly possesses a wide knowledge of the matter. His book contains many just and sagacious reflections on the nature and treatment of inversion, and the attitude of society towards perverted sexuality. The historical portions of the book, which are of special interest, deal largely with the remarkable prevalence of inversion in England, neglected by previous investigators. While the writer's attitude towards homosexuality, as manifested in the "superior" inverts like Michelangelo and Plato, is somewhat sympathetic, it is, on the whole, distinctly impartial and philosophic. Raffalovich regards congenital inversion as a large and inevitable factor in human life, but, taking the Catholic standpoint, he condemns all sexuality, either heterosexual or homosexual, and urges the invert to restrain the physical manifestations of his instinct and to aim at an ideal of chastity. On the whole, it may be said that the book is the work of a thinker of distinction who has reached his own results in his own way, and those results bear an imprint of originality and freedom from tradition which make the book worthy of very careful study, notwithstanding the absence of original observations or new facts.

About the same time a pamphlet entitled *Homogenic Love* (privately printed at Manchester in 1895) frankly claimed sympathy for homosexuality. The writer of this little book criticised the current psychiatric views

[1] *Detroit Lancet*, 1884, and *Alienist and Neurologist*, April, 1891.

of inversion, and claimed that the laws of homosexual are the same as those of heterosexual love. He urged, however, that its special value lies in its capacity of being exalted to a higher and more spiritual level of affectionate comradeship, so fulfilling a beneficent social function.

Even the existence of such treatises as those of Moll and Raffalovich is enough to show how rapidly the study of this subject has grown. A few years ago—for instance, when Dr. Paul Moreau wrote his *Aberrations du Sens Génésique*—sexual inversion was scarcely even a name. It was a loathsome and nameless vice, only to be touched with a pair of tongs, rapidly and with precautions. As it now presents itself, it is a psychological and medico-legal problem so full of interest that we need not fear to face it, so full of grave social actuality that we are bound to face it.

CHAPTER III.

SEXUAL INVERSION IN MEN.

Relatively Undifferentiated State of the Sexual Impulse in Early Life—Homosexuality in Schools—Latent Inversion—Rarity of Acquired Homosexuality—Classification of the Varieties of Sexual Inversion—Simple Inversion—Cases I to XXII—Psychosexual Hermaphroditism—Cases XXII to XXVII.

WHEN the sexual instinct first appears in early youth, it seems to be much less specialised than normally it becomes later. Not only is it, at the outset, less definitely directed to a specific sexual end, but even the sex of its object is sometimes uncertain.[1] This has always been so well recognised that those in authority over young men have sometimes forced women upon them to avoid the risk of possible unnatural offences.[2]

The institution which presents these phenomena to us

[1] Thus Godard described the little boys in Cairo as amusing themselves indifferently either with boys or girls in sexual play. *Egypte et Palestine*, 1867, p. 105.

[2] "Bouchard, in his *Confessions*," writes Symonds in an unpublished note, "speaking of the Duc d'Orleans' pages at Paris in the seventeenth century, says that this was a 'cour extrèmement impie et debauchée, surtout pour les garçons. M. d'Orleans deffendoit à ses pages de se besogner ni branler la pique; leur donnant au reste congé de voir les femmes tant qu'ils voudroient, et quelquefois venant de nuict heurter à la porte de leur chambre, avec cinq ou six garses, qu'ils enfermoient avec eux une heure à deux' (p. 38). This prince was of the same mind as Campanella, who, in the *Città del Sole*, laid it down that young men ought to be freely admitted to women, for the avoidance of sexual aberrations. Aretino and Berni enable us to comprehend the sexual immorality of males congregated together in the courts of Roman prelates." The homosexuality of youth was also well recognised among the Romans, but they adopted the contrary course and provided means to gratify it. (See Appendix E., by J. A. Symonds, on the Concubinus.)

in the most marked and the most important manner is, naturally, the school, in England, especially the public school. In France, where the same phenomena are noted, Tarde has called attention to these relationships, "most usually Platonic in the primitive meaning of the word, which indicate a simple indecision of frontier between friendship and love, still undifferentiated in the dawn of the awakening heart," and he regrets that no one has yet studied them. In England we are very familiar with vague allusions to the vices of public schools. From time to time we read letters in the newspapers denouncing public schools as "hotbeds of vice," and one recent anonymous writer remarks that "some of our public schools almost provoke the punishment of the cities of the Plain."[1] But, so far as I have been able to gather, these allegations have not been submitted to accurate investigation. The physicians and others connected with public schools who are in a position to study the matter possess no psychological training, and appear to view homosexuality with too much disgust to care to pay any careful attention to it. What knowledge they possess they keep to themselves, for it is considered to be in the interests of public schools that these things should be hushed up. When anything very scandalous occurs one or two lads are expelled, to their own grave and, perhaps, life-long injury, and without benefit to those who remain, whose awakening sexual life rarely receives intelligent sympathy.

Max Dessoir, in a recent study of the psychology of the sexual life which displays remarkable acumen and independence of judgment, comes to the conclusion that "an undifferentiated sexual feeling is normal, on the average, during the first years of puberty—*i.e.*, from 13 to 15 in boys and from 12 to 14 in girls—while in later years it must be regarded as pathological." He adds very truly that in this early period the sexual emotion has not become

[1] "Our Public Schools: their Methods and Morals." *New Review*, July 1893.

centred in the sexual organs.[1] This latter fact is certainly far too often forgotten by grown-up persons who suspect the idealised passion of boys and girls of a physical side which children have often no suspicion of, and would view with repulsion and horror. How far the sexual instinct may be said to be undifferentiated in early puberty as regards sex is a little doubtful to me; I should not like to go farther than to say that it is comparatively undifferentiated. I am not able to bring forward much new evidence to make our knowledge of this matter more

[1] Max Dessoir, "Zur Psychologie der Vita Sexualis," *Allg. Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie*, 1894, heft. V. Dr. Conolly Norman (Art. "Sexual Perversion," Tuke's *Dict. of Psych. Med.*) also states that "the sexual passion, at its first appearance, is always indefinite, and is very easily turned in a wrong direction," and he apparently accounts for inversion by this fact, and by the precocity of neurotics. Prof. James (*Principles of Psychology*, vol. ii, p. 439) also considers inversion "a kind of sexual appetite of which very likely most men possess the germinal possibility." For some interesting details regarding homosexuality in German schools I may refer to Dr. A. Hoche, "Zur Frage der forensischen Beurtheiling sexueller Vergeher," *Neurolog. Ctblatt.*, 1896, No. 2. Putting together communications received from various medical men regarding their own youthful experiences at school, he finds relationships of the kind very common, usually between boys of different ages and school classes. According to one observer, the feminine or passive part was always played by a boy of girlish form and complexion, and the relationships were somewhat like those of normal lovers, with kissing, poems, love-letters, scenes of jealousy, sometimes visits to each other in bed, but without masturbation, pæderasty, or other grossly physical manifestation. From his own youthful experience Hoche records precisely similar observations, and remarks that the lovers were by no means recruited from the vicious elements in the school. (The elder scholars, of 21 or 22 years of age, formed regular sexual relationships with the servant girls in the house.) It is probable that the homosexual relationships in English schools are, as a rule, not more vicious than those described by Hoche, but that the concealment in which they are wrapped leads to exaggeration. No doubt in exceptional cases the critics of the schools have justice on their side. A discussion on the matter was started by Mr. Wilson, a head master, some years ago, in the *Journal of Education*. On this "Olim Etoniensis" wrote (*Journal of Education*, 1882, p. 85) that on making a list of the vicious boys he had known at Eton, he found that "these very boys had become Cabinet Ministers, statesmen, officers, clergymen, country gentlemen, etc., and that they are nearly all of them fathers of thriving families, respected and prosperous." But, as Marro has remarked, the question is not thus settled. Public distinction by no means necessarily implies any fine degree of private morality.

precise. The point is, however, of considerable importance, and deserves further study. If the sexual instinct is comparatively undifferentiated in early life, then we must regard the inversion of later life, if it persists, as largely due to arrested development. However this may be, it is certain that school life plays a certain part in developing (it would be incautious to say originating) sexual inversion.

These school-boy affections and passions arise to a large extent spontaneously with the evolution of the sexual emotions, though the method of manifestation may be a matter of example or suggestion. As the sexual instincts become stronger, and as the lad leaves school or college to mix with men and women in the world, the instinct usually turns into the normal channel, in which channel the instincts of the majority of boys have been directed from the earliest appearance of puberty. But a certain proportion remain insensitive to the influence of women, and these may be regarded as true sexual inverts. Some of them are probably individuals of somewhat undeveloped sexual instincts. The members of this group are of some interest psychologically, although from the comparative quiescence of their sexual emotions they have received little attention. The following communication which I have received from a well-accredited source is noteworthy from this point of view :—

"The following facts may possibly be of interest to you, though my statement of them is necessarily general and vague. I happen to know intimately three cases of men whose affections have chiefly been directed exclusively to persons of their own sex. The first, having practised masturbation as a boy, and then for some ten years ceased to practise it (to such an extent that he even inhibited his erotic dreams) has since recurred to it deliberately (at about fortnightly intervals) as a substitute for copulation, for which he has never felt the least desire. But occasionally, when sleeping with a male friend, he has emissions in the act of embracing. The second is constantly and to an abnormal extent (I should say) troubled with erotic dreams and emissions and takes drugs, by doctor's advice, to reduce this activity. He has recently developed a sexual interest in women, but for ethical and other reasons does not

copulate with them. Of the third I can say little, as he has not talked to me on the subject; but I know that he has never had intercourse with women, and has always had a natural and instinctive repulsion to the idea. In all these, I imagine, the physical impulse of sex is less imperative than in the average man. The emotional impulse, on the other hand, is very strong. It has given birth to friendships of which I find no adequate description anywhere but in the dialogues of Plato; and, beyond a certain feeling of strangeness at the gradual discovery of a temperament apparently different to that of most men, it has provoked no kind of self-reproach or shame. On the contrary, the feeling has been rather one of elation in the consciousness of a capacity of affection which appears to be finer and more spiritual than that which commonly subsists between persons of different sexes. These men are all of intellectual capacity above the average; and one is actively engaged in the world, where he is both respected for his capacity and admired for his character. I mention this particularly, because it appears to be the habit, in books upon this subject, to regard the relation in question as pathological, and to select cases where those who are concerned in it are tormented with shame and remorse. In the cases to which I am referring nothing of the kind subsists.

"In all these cases, a physical sexual attraction is recognised as the basis of the relation, but as a matter of feeling, and partly also of theory, the ascetic ideal is adopted.

"These are the only cases with which I am personally and intimately acquainted. But no one can have passed through a public school and college life without constantly observing indications of the phenomenon in question. It is clear to me that in a large number of instances there is no fixed line between what is called distinctively 'friendship' and love; and it is probably the influence of custom and public opinion that in most cases finally specialises the physical passion in the direction of the opposite sex."

The classification of the varieties of sexual inversion is still a matter of some difficulty. While some authorities are inclined to regard nearly all cases as acquired, others regard nearly every case as really congenital. Before the study of inversion was placed on a scientific basis all cases were of course regarded as acquired. The point of view is now so different that Moll, one of the latest and shrewdest students of the matter, in the first edition of his book was inclined to regard acquired inversion as almost

non-existent. In the second edition, he modified this view and concluded that acquired cases did certainly occur. With this modified conclusion I concur. I put aside those cases of a more or less morbid character, in which old men with failing sexual powers, or younger men exhausted by heterosexual debauchery, are attracted to boys.[1] With this exception I regard acquired inversion as rare, and I should not be surprised to find that a more minute investigation would show that even in these rare cases there is a congenital element. I am only able to bring forward three cases which can fairly be regarded as acquired and without obvious congenital element. The determination of the congenital or acquired nature of a particular case of inversion is frequently by no means so easy as many persons who dogmatically lay down the law on one side or the other seem to believe. The case must first be presented to us in much greater fulness than we are accustomed to get it. Then before we can assert that

[1] Such cases, however, need more careful psychological study than they have yet received. Féré has investigated a case of this kind in which a healthy young man (though with slightly neurotic heredity on one side) practised sexual intercourse excessively between the ages of twenty and twenty-three—often impelled more by *amour propre* than sexual desire—and then suddenly became impotent, at the same time losing all desire, but without any other loss of health. Six months later potency slowly returned, though never to the same extent, and he married. At the age of thirty-five symptoms of locomotor ataxy began to appear. and some years later he again became impotent, but without losing sexual desire. Suddenly one day, on sitting in close contact with a young man at a *table d'hôte*, he experienced violent erection; he afterwards found that the same thing occurred with other young men, and, though he had no psychic desire for men, he was constrained to seek such contact, and a repugnance for women and their sexuality arose. Five months later complete paraplegic impotence set in; and then both the homosexual tendency and the aversion to women disappeared. (Féré, "Note sur une Perversion Sexuelle," *Belgique Médicale*, 1897, Vol. I., No. 2.) In such a case, under the influence of disease, excessive stimulation seems to result in more or less complete sexual anæsthesia, just as temporarily we may be more or less blinded by excess of light; and functional power reasserts itself under the influence of a different and normally much weaker stimulus. Whatever the mechanism of the process may be, there is certainly a tendency for a morbidly feeble sexual impulse to become inverted.

it is a purely congenital case, we must be quite sure that no imprint of environment or suggestion, made at some "psychological moment," has had a controlling influence. And before we can assert that a case is purely acquired, we must possess a sufficiently minute knowledge of the subject in early life to be able to assert that his emotions and ideals as a child, and the nature of his physical organism, have not predisposed him to homosexual impulses. When we are able to investigate our cases with due fulness and precision, I think it will be found that in many cases we may fairly call acquired there is a congenital element, and that in many cases we may fairly call congenital some accident of environment has had an influence in developing latent tendency. Unfortunately I have not been able to investigate all my cases personally, so that many points in the following histories remain obscure; but all the cases not personally observed have been investigated with due care, through very reliable channels; so far as the histories go they may, I believe, be accepted.

I do not propose to adopt any more complex classification than the clinical distinction between simple inversion and psycho-sexual hermaphroditism, as it is usually called; the first class including all those individuals who are sexually attracted only to their own sex, the second class those who are attracted to both sexes. In each group I will first present the apparently acquired cases.

Simple Inversion.

Case I.—Both parents healthy; father of unusually fine physique. He is himself a manual worker, and also of exceptionally fine physique. He is, however, of nervous temperament. He is mentally bright, though not highly educated, a keen sportsman, and in general a good example of an all-round healthy Englishman.

While very affectionate, his sexual desires are not strongly developed on the physical side, and seem never to have been so. He sometimes masturbated about the age of puberty, but never afterwards. He does not appear to have well-marked erotic dreams. There used to be some attraction towards women, though it was never strong. At the age of 26 he was seduced by a

woman and had connection with her once. Afterwards he had reason to think she had played him false in various ways. This induced the strongest antipathy not only to this woman but to all marriageable women. A year after this episode homosexual feeling first became clear and defined. He is now 33, and feels the same antipathy to women; he hates even to speak of marriage.

There has only been one really strong attraction, towards a man of about the same age, but of different social class, and somewhat a contrast to him, both physically and mentally. So far as the physical act is concerned this relationship is not definitely sexual, but it is of the most intimate possible kind, and the absence of the physical act is probably largely due to circumstances. At the same time there is no conscious desire for the act for its own sake, and the existing harmony and satisfaction is described as very complete. There is, however, no repulsion to the physical side, and he regards the whole relationship as quite natural.

Case II.—Highlander, age 37, a "chance" child of rather poor birth, and employed as a postman. He is very amorous by nature, with good intelligence but feeble will. His heart is weak, and there is a tendency to hypochondriasis. Latterly he has taken drugs to a considerable extent to relieve his heart-trouble, and has also become almost impotent.

As a young man he was very fond of the girls and showed a morbid degree of erethism (emission at sight of women, etc.); he had one or two serious love affairs and disappointments. Then the passion gradually veered round to his own sex, he does not know why. At the present time his life is always wrapped up in some male friend, but without much response on the physical side from the other person. His sleeping and waking life is filled with a continual procession of images of physical and emotional desire. His temperament is somewhat artistic.

The first case is slightly neurotic in character, in the second there is a high degree of general feebleness and hyperæsthesia which is distinctly morbid; in both the inversion seems to be acquired. Unfortunately, in neither case have I had an opportunity of making any extended investigation into the history; a love-disappointment, it need not be said, is no adequate cause for a total change in the direction of the sexual current; it is possible that a more minute examination might reveal some predisposition to inversion in the first case, while in the second the sexual hyperæsthesia is an important factor.

The next case may be regarded as congenital; there is no evidence whatever of the presence of the normal instinct at any period of life. In this case the sexual instinct is probably not very strongly developed.

Case III.—Of Lowland Scotch parentage. Both sides of house healthy, and without cerebral or nervous disease.

Homosexual desires began at puberty. He practised onanism to a limited extent at school and up to the age of about 22.

His erotic dreams are exclusively about males.

While very friendly and intimate with women of all ages, he is instantly repelled by any display of sexual affection on their side. This has happened in varying degree in three or four cases.

With regard to marriage, he remarks: "As there seems no immediate danger of the race dying out I leave marriage to those who like it."

His male ideal has varied to some extent. It has for some years tended towards a healthy, well-developed, athletic or out-of-door working type, intelligent and sympathetic, but not specially intellectual.

At school his sexual relations were of the simplest type. Since then there have been none. "This," he says, "is not due either to absence of desire or presence of 'morals.' To put it shortly, 'there were never the time and the place and the loved one together.' In another view, physical desire and general affection have not always coexisted towards the same person; and the former without the latter is comparatively transient, while the latter stops the gratification of the former, if it is felt that that gratification could in any way make the object of affection unhappy, mentally or emotionally."

He is healthy and fairly well developed; of sensitive, emotional nature, but self-controlled; mentally he is receptive and aggressive by turns, sometimes uncritical, sometimes analytic. His temper is equable, and he is strongly affectionate. Very fond of music and the other arts, but not highly imaginative.

Of sexual inversion in the abstract he says he has no views, but he thus sums up his moral attitude: "I presume that, if it is there, it is there for use or abuse, as men please. I condemn gratification of bodily desire at the expense of others, in whatever form it may take. I condemn it no more in its inverted form than in the ordinary. I believe that affection between persons of the same sex, even when it includes the sexual passion and its indulgence, may lead to results as splendid as human nature can ever attain to. In short, I place it on an absolute equality with love as ordinarily understood."

Case IV.—Father and mother were first cousins, but of healthy stock. He is himself a man of fair physique, but highly nervous. He is sympathetic, passionate and extremely affectionate. He is imaginative, with artistic tastes.

Homosexual desires appeared about the time of puberty. When at school he indulged moderately in masturbation, but never afterwards. His erotic dreams are of males, and very frequent.

He is very good friends with women, but has strong repulsion from sexual relations with them, or any approach to it. Marriage would be quite impossible to him, except as a matter of convenience in house-keeping, and on condition of excluding the sexual side altogether.

The males he is attracted to are of different types and classes, but generally younger men. The sexual relationship has in no case involved "venus aversa."

From the moral point of view he regards normal and inverted sexuality as altogether on a par.

Of the next case I am unable to give details. But it is well worth introducing, as it illustrates the terrible struggle which sometimes takes place in a man whose fundamental and irresistible instincts are utterly opposed to his only less fundamental moral convictions.

Case V.—Physician, unmarried, English, aged 60.

Feels sure that in his own case heredity must be the cause. His father suffered from severe attacks of melancholia; he himself, from the age of 13-14, without any incitement of an external kind, and with every good influence around him and a severe, heartfelt striving on his own part after all that was good, nevertheless felt this instinct form and get strength within him. Prayers, struggles, all means used were of no avail. The thoughts, the imagination remained bent in one fixed direction.

His has been a miserable life. Death, even if it meant nothing but a passage into nothingness, he says, would be a thousand times preferable. As to investigating the subject scientifically, nothing could come of it. There are so many deviations from the normal, mental and moral (who, indeed, is without them ?), and yet they do not constitute insanity. This he regards as one of them.

In another communication he says, "If all the miserable hours of wretchedness and despair could be counted up which I have suffered in my life, they would form a hell. Even now I cannot decide for myself how far one is exactly accountable for morbid instincts and feeling from which no prayers, no struggle, can deliver one. My own opinion is that in one way or another no one is blameless, but that there is great difference in the moral nature,

and that in the case of a great many persons stains are not felt as stains."

The next three cases are told in the subjects' own words.

Case VI.—"My parentage is very sound and healthy. Both my parents (who belong to the professional middle class) have good general health; nor can I trace any marked abnormal or diseased tendency, of mind or body, in any records of the family.

"Though of a strongly nervous temperament myself, and sensitive, my health is good. I am not aware of any tendency to physical disease. In early manhood, however, owing, I believe, to the great emotional tension under which I lived, my nervous system was a good deal shattered and exhausted. Mentally and morally my nature is pretty well balanced, and I have never had any serious perturbations in these departments.

"At the age of eight or nine, and long before distinct sexual feelings declared themselves, I felt a friendly attraction towards my own sex, and this developed after the age of puberty into a passionate sense of love, which, however, never found any expression for itself till I was fully 20 years of age. I was a day boarder at school and heard little of school talk on sex subjects, was very reserved and modest besides; no elder person or parent ever spoke to me on such matters; and the passion for my own sex developed itself gradually, utterly uninfluenced from the outside. I never even, during all this period, and till a good deal later, learned the practice of masturbation. My own sexual nature was a mystery to me. I found myself cut off from the understanding of others, felt myself an outcast, and, with a highly loving and clinging temperament, was intensely miserable. I thought about my male friends—sometimes boys of my own age, sometimes elder boys, and once even a master—during the day and dreamed about them at night, but was too convinced that I was a hopeless monstrosity ever to make any effectual advances. Later on it was much the same, but gradually, though slowly, I came to find that there were others like myself. I made a few special friends, and at last it came to me occasionally to sleep with them and to satisfy my imperious need by mutual embraces and emissions. Before this happened, however, I was once or twice on the brink of despair and madness with repressed passion and torment.

"Meanwhile, from the first, my feeling, physically, towards the female sex was one of indifference, and later on, with the more special development of sex desires, one of positive repulsion. Though having several female friends, whose society I like and to whom I am sincely attached, the thought of marriage or cohabitation with any such has always been odious to me.

"As a boy, I was attracted in general by boys rather holder than myself; after leaving school I still fell in love, in a romantic vein, with comrades of my own standing. Now—at the age of 37—my ideal of love is a powerful, strongly built man, of my own age or rather younger—preferably of the working class. Though having solid sense and character, he need not be specially intellectual. If endowed in the latter way, he must not be too glib or refined. Anything effeminate in a man, or anything of the cheap intellectual style, repels me very decisively.

"I have never had to do with actual pæderasty, so-called. My chief desire in love is bodily nearness or contact, as to sleep naked with a naked friend; the specially sexual, though urgent enough, seems a secondary matter. Pæderasty, either active or passive, might seem in place to me with one I loved very devotedly and who also loved me to that degree—but I think not otherwise. I am an artist by temperament and choice, fond of all beautiful things especially the male human form; of active, slight, muscular build; and sympathetic, but somewhat indecisive, character, though possessing self-control.

"I cannot regard my sexual feelings as unnatural or abnormal, since they have disclosed themselves so perfectly naturally and spontaneously within me. All that I have read in books or heard spoken about the ordinary sexual love, its intensity and passion, life-long devotion, love at first sight, etc., seems to me to be easily matched by my own experiences in the homosexual form; and with regard to the morality of this complex subject, my feeling is that it is the same as should prevail in love between man and woman—namely, that no bodily satisfaction should be sought at the cost of another person's distress or degradation. I am sure that this kind of love is, notwithstanding the physical difficulties that attend it, as deeply stirring and ennobling as the other kind, if not more so; and I think that for a perfect relationship the actual sex gratifications (whatever they may be) probably hold a less important place in this love than in the other."

Case VII.—"I was born in England 34 years ago. My parents were both English, and they married young. My grandfather married at an advanced age, having been in the army. My duties are clerical, and bring me into touch with a wide circle of friends and acquaintances.

"At an early age for a boy I was sent to boarding school, being scarcely eight years old. Till then I do not remember to have had any sexual feeling. As soon as I went to school I developed deep affection for those of my schoolfellows who were well built and handsome. I spent much time in devising means of meeting them. With one boy in particular, who now occupies a

distinguished position in society, I was very friendly, having for him a strong sexual passion, which I did not understand—nor he either—though we used always to creep into one or the other's bed every night. I suffered from erections at the thought of handsome boys ever since I was eight years old, but I did not understand anything about sexual matters until I was fifteen. During those years of school life, though I suffered erections at the slightest marks of affection from boys, I never took the slightest notice of girls or women, nor felt any sexual desires for them. All I wanted to do was to press my body against that of the boys I loved, or to handle their sexual organs. At fifteen a boy one day induced me to rub his parts, and he did the same to me. I did not like the sensation at all; but he induced me to continue practising on him till he had an emission. I did not have the experience, and he told me that I was too young. I used after that to occasionally rub my own parts, but there being no emission I concluded that there was something wrong with me, and that I was impotent. Soon after I was 16, however, another boy accosted me whom I was very fond of, and I had an emission in a very few moments. After that for some years I used to mutually gratify myself with the same boy friend as often as three or four times a week; but we never attempted, nor had any inclination to attempt, penetration of the anus; from this practice I used to invariably find that we shrank as unnatural and beastly.

"My deep attachment to my friends, and a freeness of intercourse and conversation disinclined me from solitary masturbation, which I only practised when absent from my boy friends for a long time. I never suffered much from erotic dreams, but when I did, I either had no consciousness of sexual emission, or if I had, it was invariably dreaming that I was with some boy friend. It was only once that I suffered from any sexual passion for a woman, and in that case she was boyish in manner, and much like a particular friend of mine. I did not, however, attempt to have any sexual relations with her; otherwise, I have never had, nor have now, any sexual passion for women; nor have I had relations of the kind with them. Some one showed me, when I was about 20, a number of photographs of nude women, but they only repulsed one. If I were to marry it would be solely for the sake of friendship, and I should be bound to explain before contracting any such alliance, that I should not probaply sleep with my wife at all.

"I always preferred as friends, boys of good appearance; but I have had as friends boys who were plain in appearance. And as we have grown up to manhood and middle age we have not been ashamed of our earlier affection; but have always respected

and loved one another more than we probably should otherwise have done.

"In general, I gather that public school, barrack, and ship life and offices—such as the telegraph and factories—where boys are engaged in large numbers, tend to develop a passion which freer intercourse with girls and women would, in many cases, turn into the ordinary accepted channels of sexual passion. I notice that boys who work in cotton mills with girls almost invariably have frequent attempted sexual connection with girls; but, on the other hand, that boys who are merely thrown together without women do in very many cases acquire a habit of mutual sexual gratification, or of sexual desire in cases where shyness prevents acknowledgment of the passion.

"My habits are friendly, and instinctively I can judge whether a boy's mind is on the sexual passion. Many times boys have thanked me for talking to them and telling them my views of the question. Public school boys, and boys in comfortable positions in life, are distinctly more addicted to homosexual passion than boys in poor circumstances. My moral view of the matter is that secret masturbation is an absolute evil; that the economic conditions of women make it altogether unfair to use them as merely channels for satisfying sexual passion, that physical continence is impossible, and that it is, therefore, better to spread abroad that spirit of open comradeship which is natural to many men and boys, and which results when the body is impassioned in mutual sex satisfaction. Against this stands the law, which is a relic of the ages gone by. It is a farce, where every public school boy knows, and, in most cases, practises, homosexual habits, to attach a penalty to the practice. It might as reasonably be enacted that adultery with women is a penal offence.

"Personally, I enjoy good health, and am not subject to any disease that I am aware of, mentally or physically."

Case VIII.—"I am an Englishman, 30 years of age, high bred, refined and sensitive.

"I had, I believe, a paternal and materal uncle who were both sexually inverted. They both died before they were 40.

"I cannot remember when I did not take an interest in my own sex.

"I did not discover the act of masturbation before I was 10, and from that time up to 21 confined myself entirely to that, though I conceived violent passions for schoolfellows unknown to them.

"I have scarcely ever dreamt of any sexual intercourse with men, and do not have erotic dreams.

"I am capable of great regard and liking for women when I

deem them worthy of it; otherwise I have a strong repulsion to them, and have never touched a woman.

"I consider that in my particular case marriage would be a great wrong to the woman.

"I am attracted by most forms of physical beauty, in outline, coloring, feature, etc. There is no special relation to age or class, though for a great friendship I would much prefer a gentleman.

"I do not practise *pædicatio*, and very rarely *fellatio*. I like embracements, "spooning," and real kissing, followed by mutual masturbation.

"In appearance I am more beautiful than handsome, with very large eyes, and Grecian cast of features. I resemble my mother, and have inherited from her a delicate and pretty complexion. At school I never cared much for games, preferring to walk alone or with a chosen or intimate friend. I am of sedentary habits and fond of hearing music. Penis is very large.

"I am a firm believer in the absolute naturalness of my sexual inclinations. I am depressed at times, especially when I abstain from every form of erotic indulgence. I am not vain, except in the ordinary sense of being anxious to please, and have a feeling of surprise when anyone I like evinces a liking for me."

Case IX.—Englishman, aged 51, Government official. Nothing remarkable in ancestry, so far as he is aware; on his father's side there have been many soldiers; his mother's family he describes as "wild and dare-devil, with sparks of genius." At a private school he went to as a young boy, he was "spooned" but not taught any tricks. When 14 years of age a young officer on a visit to his brothers got into bed with him and had him *inter femora* several times. From that time onward he has always desired this done to him with some violence, or to take himself the active part. He has occasionally masturbated, but only *faute de mieux*. Erotic dreams are rare and have never been vivid; they have always been of nude males. He has a strong repugnance to women. It is with difficulty that he restrains himself from being rude to a woman defective in tact or breeding, nor do good looks or intellect affect this strong prejudice. He has never attempted connection with a woman, and scarcely even desired it. He is unmarried, but has no absolute aversion to the idea of marriage. He is attracted to men irrespective, to a large extent, of their calling or condition, or even age. But they must be virile and strongly built. He finds that uniform or livery (soldiers, sailors, grooms, footmen) is a temptation. He is not attracted to the very young nor to the effeminate. He abhors *pædicatio*.

He is tall and fair, with light, very soft, hair; white soft skin, with

moustache, but no beard. As boy and as man he has had no taste for field sports, but is fond of music, books, art, and the sea. He smokes freely; cannot whistle. In youth and early manhood his seminal capacity was singularly great. He is scholarly and especially linguistic in tastes.

He loathes his homosexual inclinations, although perfectly natural to him, and considers that all such abnormal sexual tendencies concern the doctor and the moralist, not the legislator.

Case X.—Scotchman, aged 38. His paternal ancestors were normal, so far as he knows. His mother belonged to a very eccentric old Celtic family.

Soon after 5 he became so enamoured of a young shepherd that the boy had to be sent away. He practised masturbation many years before the age of puberty, and attaches importance to this as a factor in the evolution of his homosexual life.

He has had erotic dreams rarely about men, about women more frequently. While indifferent to women, he has no repulsion toward them. He has had connection with women two or three times, but without experiencing the same passionate emotions as with men.

He would like a son, but he has never been able to get up the necessary amount of passion to lead to marriage.

He has always had a sentimental and platonic affection for men. Of late years he has formed two friendships with adults of an affectionate and also erotic character. He cares little for anything beyond mutual masturbation and kissing; what he desires is the love of the male.

In appearance there is nothing abnormal about him except an air of youth. He is vigorous both in body and mind, and has enormous power of resisting fatigue. He is an excelleut man of business. Is a patient student.

He sees no harm in his homosexual passions. He is averse to promiscuity. His ideal is a permanent union which includes sexual relations.

It will be observed that in the preceding ten cases little reference is made to the practice of *pædicatio* or *immissio penis in anum*. It is probable that in none of these cases (with the possible exception of Case V) has it been practised. In the two following cases it has occasionally been practised, but only with repugnance and not as the satisfaction of an instinct, so that these cases should in this respect really be classed with those that precede.

Case XI.—Englishman, of independent means, aged 35, belonging

to an ordinarily healthy family, so far as he knows. He was the only son, and was brought up at home with two sisters until the age of 14. At school was a delicate, effeminate boy, shunning games for which he was not strong enough and had no inclination, and fond of music, pictures and poetry. He was also very religious, even to the verge of hysteria.

He has been intensely attracted to men so far back as he can recollect. The only women who attracted him were much older than himself, and the feeling was never sexual. At school he had only one love affair with a comrade; he was restrained by religious feeling, at the expense (he has since been inclined to think) of his health. At the University he formed a great friendship with another sexual invert, which lasted for nearly ten years, although the two friends had little in common beyond their sexual feelings.

Between the ages of 19 and 27 he was accustomed to masturbate. He does not, however, consider that this was voluntary; it took place in a sort of dreamy state between sleeping and waking, and was accompanied by lascivious thoughts and dreams of men. From the age of puberty he has suffered intensely from erotic dreams, and at the present time, when his sexual instincts are not satisfied, they occur at least once a week. It has not, indeed, been at all uncommon for them to occur three times in one night. At first they were of women, now almost invariably of men. Women do not attract him and he has never had sexual intercourse with one, although when about the age of 21 he tried hard to force himself to go with women, never, however, proceeding so far as the act of coition. Intellectually he likes women very much, and women are among his greatest friends. He would gladly marry, as he longs for companionship and for children, but he dreads inability to satisfy a woman and the danger of falling in love with a man. He is mostly attracted to youths of from 18 to 24, slightly built, and pretty rather than handsome. Big muscular men have little attraction for him. He finds that mere contact of body to body is sufficient to produce the physical effects and pleasure of coition. *Pædicatio* disgusts him, unless he is passionately devoted to a person who insists upon it, and even then he feels it to be debasing and bestial. *Fellatio* excites him intensely. He finds that moderate intercourse with his own sex does him good, and he feels better and stronger for it.

Although formerly effeminate, he is not now of unmanly appearance. He is fond of boating and walking, but of no other active pursuits. He is musical and writes a good deal; has published. Is very susceptible to scents and colours, smokes, and is fond of society, dining out a good deal when in London. He prides himself that, though his instincts are not manly, he is able to hide

them with some success, and that he does not look like a sexual invert. His opinion regarding the moral aspects of the matter may be given in his own words:—"My feeling about this subject is a very mixed one and hard to define. It worries and depresses me intensely at times. I have had two or three great passions for men younger than myself. Sometimes they begin with mere sexual appetite, but this is always secondary, and my one wish is to devote myself and what ittle means I have simply to the welfare of the person I love. But I must have entire possession, and am madly jealous. I would give anything not to be an Urning, and I have tried and fought against my instincts for years by every means —religion, hygiene, etc.—I can think of. I feel sure it is natural to me, but that it is disease I do not feel certain. Of its extraordinary prevalence I am assured, for I have found it everywhere—I have travelled a good deal—and in all stations of life."

Case XII.—Irish, aged 36; knows of nothing unusual in his ancestry.

His tastes are masculine in every respect. He is strong, healthy, and fond of exercises and sports. The sexual instincts are abnorally developed; and he confesses to an enormous appetite for almost everything, food, drink, smoking, and all the good things of life.

At about the age of 14 he practised masturbation with othe boys of the same age, and also had much pleasure in being in bed with an uncle with whom the same thing was practised. Later on he practised masturbation with every boy or man with whom he was on terms of intimacy; to have been in bed with anyone without anything of the sort taking place would have made sleep impossible, and rendered him utterly wretched. His erotic dreams at first were concerned with women, but more recently they are usually of young men, and very rarely of women. He is mostly indifferent to women, as also they have always been to him. Although good looking, strong, and masculine, he has never known a woman to be in love with him. When about the age of 18 he imagined he was in love with a girl; and he had often, between the ages of 20 to 30, cohabited with prostitutes. He remembers on one occasion, many years ago, having connection with a woman seven or eight times in one night, and then having to masturbate at noon the next day. He is unmarried, and thinks it is unlikely that he ever will marry, but he adds that if a healthy, handsome and intelligent woman fell in love with him he might change his mind, as it would be lonely to be old and alone, and he would like to have children.

He is never attracted to men older than himself, and prefers youths between the ages of 18 and 25. They may be of any class,

but he does not like common people, and is not attached to uniforms or liveries. The requisite attractions are an intelligent eye, a voluptuous mouth and "intelligent teeth." "If Alcibiades himself tried to woo me," he says, "and had bad teeth, his labour would be in vain." He has sometimes been the active participant in *pædicatio*, and has tried the passive *rôle* out of curiosity, but prefers *fellatio*.

He does not consider that he is doing anything wrong, and regards his acts as quite natural. His only regret is the absorbing nature of his passions, which obtrude themselves in season and out of season, seldom or never leaving him quiet, and sometimes making life a hell. Yet he doubts whether he would change himself, even if he had the power.

In the five following cases *pædicatio* is generally practised, either as the preferred form of sexual gratification or as a matter of indifference.

Case XIII.—Age 25; is employed in an ordinary workshop, and lives in the back alley of a large town in which he was born and bred. Fair, slight, and refined in appearance. The sexual organs are normal and well developed, and the sexual passions strong.

His mother is a big masculine woman, and he is much attached to her. Father is slight and weakly. He has seven brothers and one sister.

Homosexual desires began at an early age, though he does not seem to have come under any perverse influences. He is not inclined to masturbation.

Erotic dreams are always of males.

He declares he never cared for any women except his mother, and that he could not endure to sleep with a woman.

He says he generally falls in love with a man at first sight—as a rule someone older than himself and of higher class—and longs to sleep and be with him. In one case he fell in love with a man twice his own age, and would not rest till he had won his affection. He does not much care what form the sexual relation takes.

He is sensitive and feminine by nature, gentle and affectionate. He is neat and orderly in his habits, and fond of housework; helps his mother in washing, etc.

He appears to think that male attachments are perfectly natural.

Case XIV.—Englishman, 31 years of age, an actor. He remarks that his father and mother were passionless, and that this was possibly a cause of neuropathic disorder. (It may have been a symptom of it.) Homosexual desires began so early that it is

impossible to trace them, and school friendships were serious passions. Masturbation had, he declares, nothing to do with his inclinations. His erotic dreams are always of boys, and he has an intense physical aversion to women. He is attracted to individuals who are slightly effeminate, especially boys between the ages of 14 and 18. He practises complete pæderasty, or, as he expresses it, "the utmost act of possession, because it *is* possession." He is of medium height, fair hair and skin; dislikes violent amusements and is a lover of poetry and art. He believes that, kept within bounds, this love is right, and capable of being made noble—far more so than the love of woman—and that to call it unnatural is grossly unjust and untrue.

Case XV.—"Gentleman, of Scotch extraction, without profession, aged 27.

"I had an uncle on the maternal side whom I have every reason to believe had the same inclinations as myself.

"Homosexual tastes began to show themselves about the age of 12, when I was devotedly attached to a cousin of about the same age who has since married.

"The habit of self-abuse has always had a great hold on me, and it is only within a short time that I have broken myself of the practice. It is especially strong when I am away from sympathetic friends and opportunity of meeting others of similar tastes.

"I am seldom troubled with erotic dreams; on the few occasions on which they have taken place the exciting object has generally assumed the form of some boy I have known.

"Sexual intercourse with women, even in imagination, is absolutely repulsive. I enjoy their society, particularly that of married women. On the very few occasions, many years since, when I have had intercourse with women, I have never derived the slightest pleasure from the act.

"I am not married. I regard marriage personally as a necessary evil.

"I prefer boys about 17 to 20 years of age, though occasionally slightly older men attract me, I like the smooth hairless face and body of a boy; a slight feminine trait adds to the attraction, but it must not be too developed. I prefer dark boys to fair. They must be of my own class of life, and refined; I am particularly sensitive to charm of voice and mode of expression, and any coarseness in this particular has the effect of repelling me.

"In the case of a few boys I have indulged in *pædicatio*, but only when they are particularly attractive to me. As a general rule I am satisfied with such pleasure as can be obtained by the use of the hand, and indeed prefer it. The utter *abandon* of the person

with me is necessary to any degree of pleasure, and the acts must be mutual.

"I am tall, slight and dark, with a small moustache. I have always been delicate and averse to all rough games. I suffer a great deal from "nerves," and am always terribly sensitive to jarring or disturbing influence. I am passionately devoted to music, and indeed to art of all kinds, though through bad health my powers have not been developed to their proper extent.

"I consider the taste for sexual relations with my own sex to be perfectly natural; as either having been inherited, or as the result of having been led astray by an older man than myself at the age of puberty. [It will be observed that the word "natural" is here used in a peculiar sense.] At the same time I look upon it as a curse, for it is a moral barrier between the ordinary run of mankind and myself. I have contempt for those who allow the passion to conquer them, and whose life is spent in eternally seeking for people of like tastes. I never regard the act of sexual intercourse as sin, and, if comparisons must be drawn, consider this particular form as more harmless in its effects than the love of the opposite sex."

Case XVI.— Englishman, born in Paris; aged 26, an actor. He belongs to an old English family; his father, so far as he is aware, had no homosexual inclinations, nor had any of his ancestors on the paternal side; but he believes that his mother's family, and especially a maternal uncle who had a strong feeling for beauty of form, were more akin to him in this respect.

His earliest recollections show an attraction for males. At children's parties he incurred his father's anger by kissing other small boys, and his feelings grew in intensity with years. He has never practised self-abuse, and seldom had erotic dreams; when they do occur they are about males.

His physical feeling for women is one of absolute indifference. He admires beautiful women in the same way as one admires beautiful scenery. At the same time he likes to talk with clever women, and has formed many friendships with frank, pure, and cultivated English girls, for whom he has the utmost admiration and respect. Marriage is impossible, because physical pleasure with women is impossible; he has tried but cannot obtain the slightest sexual feeling or excitement.

He especially admires youths (though they must not be immature) from 16 or 17 to about 25. The type which physically appeals to him most, and to which he appeals, is fair, smooth-skinned, gentle, rather girlish and effeminate, with the effeminacy of the *ingénue* not the *cocotte*. His favourite to attract him must be submissive and womanly; he likes to be the man and the master. On this point

he adds: "The great passion of my life is an exception and stands on an utterly different level. It realizes an ideal of marriage in which neither is master, but both share a joint empire and in which tyranny would be equally painful to both. But this friendship and love is for an equal, a year younger than myself, and does not preclude other and less creditable *liaisons*, *physical* constancy being impossible to men of our calibre."

Pædicatio is the satisfaction he prefers, provided he takes the active, never the passive *rôle*.

He is handsome, with broad shoulders, good figure, and somewhat classic type of face with fine blue eyes. He likes boating and skating, though not cricket or football, and is usually ready for fun, but has at the same time a taste for reading.

He has no moral feelings on these matters; he regards them as outside ethics, mere matters of temperament and social feeling. If England were underpopulated he thinks he might possibly feel some slight pangs of remorse, but as things are he feels that in prostituting males rather than females he is doing a meritorious action.

Case XVII.—Englishman, 28 years of age, belonging to an old north country family; of no profession. Fair, with blue eyes, of medium height and rather thin; somewhat lacking in energy and inclined to take life easily. He knows of no other case of inversion in his family, beyond a distant cousin who was the first to enlighten him on this subject when he was 20 years of age.

He has been more attracted to men than to women as long as he can remember. He practised masturbation as a boy, but was always much more excited when doing so with another boy than by himself. He has never, so far as he remembers, had any erotic dreams about women, but often about men. He has sometimes dreamed that he was being married to a woman by force and has awoke feeling utterly wretched. He has twice tried to have connection with prostitutes but failed. He thus writes of his attitude: "I have had a very good experience of my feelings towards women, which I will relate. When I was about 19 years old (before I was enlightened by my cousin) I was thrown very much in the society of a most fascinating and pretty married woman of about 21 years of age. She had just been divorced, and it was generally supposed that I was very much in love with her, and, being young, I was proud of being thought so, and tried to make myself believe I was; but I never once during that time had the slightest desire to cohabit with her, and, although I used to 'spoon' her, I never got excited, or even had an erection. In fact, I always felt very nervous when in the presence of a woman. An unmarried girl simply bores me to death. When a boy, I always loved with the greatest of

devotion boys of my own age, and would always have one special friend whom I would write most loving letters to. Now I prefer youths from 18 to 21 years of age; for the last three years I have loved one boy who was 16 years old when we first met; we both fell in love with one another the moment we met; we are at this moment as much in love with one another as it is possible to be. He is certainly the most manly boy I have ever met in my life."

He prefers active *pædicatio*, but passive *pædicatio* also gives him pleasure.

On the moral aspects of the matter he writes: "My feeling as regards this love for men is that as long as it is reciprocal there is no harm, but when it is an act of prostitution I think it wrong, especially when practised with boys at an age when they don't know their own minds." He adds that he always encourages the boy he is now living with to talk of women, because, although he feels sure the boy is as much inverted as he is himself, he regards him as not yet old enough to form an opinion of his own. There are some obvious fallacies in this attitude but the subject markedly lacks reasoning power.

The next case I present in some detail; it is interesting as showing the mental and emotional development in a very radical case of sexual inversion.

Case XVIII.—Englishman, independent means, aged 49. His father and his father's family were robust, healthy and prolific. On his mother's side, phthisis, insanity and eccentricity are traceable. He belongs to a large family, some of whom died in early childhood and at birth, while others are normal. He himself was a weakly and highly nervous child, subject to night terrors and somnambulism, excessive shyness and religious disquietude.

Sexual consciousness awoke before the age of 8, when his attention was directed to his own penis. His nurse while out walking with him one day told him that when little boys grow up their penes fall off. The nursery-maid sniggered, and he felt that there must be something peculiar about the penis. He suffered from irritability of the prepuce, and the nurse powdered it before he went to sleep. There was no transition from this to self-abuse.

About the same time he became subject to curious half-waking dreams. In these he imagined himself the servant of several adult naked sailors; he crouched between their thighs and called himself their dirty pig, and by their orders he performed services for their genitals and buttocks which he contemplated and handled with relish. At about the same period when these visions began to come to him he casually heard that a man used to come and expose his person before the window of a room where the maids

sat; this troubled him vaguely. Between the age of 8 and 11 he twice took the penis of a cousin into his mouth, after they had slept together; the feeling of the penis pleased him. When sleeping with another cousin, they used to lie with hands outstretched to cover each other's penis or nates. He preferred the nates, but his cousin the penis. Neither of these cousins was homosexual, and there was no attempt at mutual masturbation. He was in the habit of playing with five male cousins. One of these boys was unpopular with the others, and they invented a method of punishing him for supposed offences. They sat round the room on chairs, each with his penis exposed, and the boy to be punished went round the room on his knees and took each penis into his mouth in turn. This was supposed to humiliate him. It did not lead to masturbation. On one occasion the child accidently observed a boy who sat next to him in school playing with his penis and caressing it. This gave him a powerful uneasy sensation. With regard to all these points the subject observes that none of the boys with whom he was connected at this period, and who were exposed to precisely the same influences, became homosexual.

He was himself, from the first, indifferent to the opposite sex. In early childhood, and up to the age of 13, he had frequent opportunities of closely inspecting the sexual organs of girls, his playfellows. These roused no sexual excitement. On the contrary, the smell of the female parts affected him disagreeably. When he once saw a schoolfellow copulating with a little girl, it gave him a sense of mystical horror. Nor did the sight of the male organs arouse any particular sensations. He is, however, of opinion that, living with his sisters in childhood, he felt more curious about his own sex as being more remote from him. He showed no effeminacy in his preferences for games or work.

He was mentally precocious. When he began to read books he felt particularly attracted to certain male characters: the Adonis of Shakespeare's poem (he wished he had been Venus), Anzoleto in George Sand's *Consuelo*, Hermes in Homer. He was very curious to know why the Emperors kept boys as well as girls in their seraglios, and what the male gods did with the youths they loved. As time went on he began to realise that the fascination of the male was sexual for him.

He went to a public school. Here he was provoked by boy friends to masturbate, but, though he often saw the act in process, it only inspired him with a sense of indecency. In his fifteenth year puberty commenced with nocturnal emissions, and, at the same time, he began to masturbate, and continued to do so about once a week, or once a fortnight, during a period of eight months; always with a feeling that that was a poor satisfaction and

repulsive. His thoughts were not directed either to males or females while masturbating. He spoke to his father about these signs of puberty, and by his father's advice he entirely abandoned onanism; he only resumed the practice, to some extent, after the age of 30, when he was without male comradeship.

The nocturnal emissions, after he had abandoned self-abuse, became very frequent and exhausting. They were medically treated by tonics such as quinine and strychnine. He thinks this treatment exaggerated his neurosis. All this time, no kind of sexual feeling for girls made itself felt; with the exception of a comradely liking for his sister and for her governess, he was perfectly indifferent to them. He could not understand what his schoolfellows found in women, or the stories they told about wantonness and the delight of coitus.

His old dreams about the sailors had disappeared. But now he enjoyed visions of beautiful young men and exquisite Greek statues; he often shed tears when he thought of them. He was often visited in nocturnal visions by a beautiful ideal youth, who clasped him round. These dreams persisted for many years. But another kind gradually usurped their place to some extent. These second visions took the form of the large erect organs of naked young grooms or peasants. These gross visions offended his taste and hurt him, though at the same time they evoked a strong, active desire of possession; he took a strange, poetic pleasure in the ideal forms. But the seminal losses which accompanied both kinds of dreams were a perpetual source of misery to him.

There is no doubt that at this time, that is, between his 15th and 17th years, a homosexual diathesis had become established. He never frequented loose women, though he sometimes thought that would be the best way of combating his growing inclination for males. And he thinks that he might have brought himself to indulge freely in purely sexual pleasure with women if he made their first acquaintance in a male costume, as *débardeuses*, *Cherubino*, court pages, young halberdiers, as it is only when so clothed that women on the stage or in the ball-room have excited him.

His ideal of morality and fear of venereal infection, more than physical incapacity, kept him what is called chaste. He never dreamed of women, never sought their society, never felt the slightest sexual excitement in their presence, never idealised them. Æsthetically, he thought them far less beautiful than men. Statues and pictures of naked women had no attraction for him, while all objects of art which represented handsome males deeply stirred him.

It was in his 18th year that an event occurred which he regards as decisive in his development. He read the *Phœdrus* and *Sym-*

posium of Plato. A new world opened, and he felt that his own nature had been revealed. Next year he formed a passionate but pure friendship with a boy of 15. Personal contact with the boy caused erection, extreme agitation and aching pleasure, but not ejaculation. Through four years he never saw the boy naked or touched him pruriently, Only twice he kissed him. He says that these two kisses were the most perfect joys he ever felt.

His father now became seriously anxious both about his health and his reputation. He warned him of the social and legal dangers attending his temperament. But he did not encourage him to try coitus with women. He himself thinks that his own sense of danger might have made this method successful, or that at all events the habit of intercourse with women might have lessened neurosis and diverted his mind to some extent from homosexual thoughts.

A period of great pain and anxiety now opened for him. It is true that at the University he made very brilliant studies. But his neurasthenia increased; he suffered from insomnia, obscure cerebral discomfort, stammering, chronic conjunctivitis, inability to concentrate his attention, and dejection.

Meanwhile his homosexual emotions strengthened, and assumed a more sensual character. He abstained from indulging them, as also from onanism, but he was often forced, with shame and reluctance, to frequent places—baths, urinaries, and so forth—where there were opportunities of seeing naked men. Having no passion for women, it was easy to avoid them. Yet they inspired him with no exact horror. He used to dream of finding an exit from his painful situation by cohabitation with some coarse, boyish girl of the people; but his dread of syphilis stood in the way. He felt, however, that he must conquer himself by efforts of will, and by a persistent direction of his thoughts to heterosexual images. He sought the society of distinguished women. Once he coaxed up a romantic affection for a young girl of 15, which came to nothing, probably because the girl felt the want of absolute passion in his wooing. She excited his imagination, and he really loved her; but she did not, even in the closest contact, stimulate his sexual appetite. Once, when he kissed her just after she had risen from bed in the morning, a curious physical repugnance came over him, attended with a sad feeling of disappointment.

He was strongly advised to marry by physicians. At last he did so. He found that he was potent, and he begot several children, but he also found, to his disappointment, that the tyranny of the male genital organs on his fancy increased. Owing to this cause his physical, mental and moral discomfort became acute. His health gave way.

At about the age of 30, unable to endure his position any longer, he at last yielded to his sexual inclinations. As he began to do this, he also began to regain calm and comparative health. He formed a close alliance with a youth of 19. This *liaison* was largely sentimental, and marked by a kind of etherialised sensuality. It involved no sexual acts beyond kissing, naked contact, and rare involuntary emissions. About the age of 36 he began freely to follow homosexual inclinations.

At the same time, when he had begun to indulge his inborn homosexual instincts, he rapidly recovered his health. The neurotic disturbances subsided.

He has always loved men younger than himself. At about the age of 27 he began to admire young soldiers. Since he yielded freely to his inclinations the men he has sought are invariably persons of a lower social rank than his own. He carried on one *liaison* continuously for 12 years; it began without passion on the friend's side, but gradually grew to nearly equal strength on both sides. He is not attracted by uniforms but seeks some uncontaminated child of Nature. The methods of satisfaction have varied with the phases of his passion. At first they were romantic and Platonic, when a hand-touch, a rare kiss, mere presence, sufficed. In the second period sleeping side by side, inspection of the naked body of the loved man, embracements, occasional emissions after prolonged contact. In the third period the gratification became more frankly sensual. It took every shape: mutual masturbation, intercrural coitus, *fellatio*, *irrumatio*, occasionally *pædicatio*, always according to the inclination or concession of the beloved male. He himself plays the active masculine part. He never yields himself to the other, and he asserts that he never has the joy of finding himself desired with ardour equal to his own. He does not shrink from passive *pædicatio;* but it is never demanded of him. Coitus with males, as above described, always seems to him healthy and natural; it leaves a deep sense of well-being, and has cemented durable friendships. He has always sought to form permanent ties with the men whom he has adored so excessively.

He is of medium height, not robust, but with great nervous energy, with strong power of will and self-control, able to resist fatigue and changes of external circumstance. In boyhood he had no liking for female occupations, or for the society of girls, preferring study and solitude. He avoided games and the noisy occupations of boys, but was only non-masculine in his indifference to sport, was never feminine in dress or habit. He never succeeded in his attempts to whistle. Is a great smoker, and has at times drunk much. He likes riding, skating and climbing, but is a poor horseman, and is clumsy with his hands. He has no capacity for

the fine arts and music, though much interested in them, and is a prolific author.

He has suffered extremely throughout life owing to his sense of the difference between himself and normal human beings. No pleasure he has enjoyed, he declares, can equal a thousandth part of the pain caused by the internal consciousness of Pariahdom. The utmost he can plead in his own defence, he admits, is irresponsibility, for he acknowledges that his impulse may be morbid. But he feels absolutely certain that in early life his health was ruined, and his moral repose destroyed, owing to the perpetual conflict with his own inborn nature, and that relief and strength came with indulgence. Although he always has before him the terror of discovery, he is convinced that his sexual dealings with men have been thoroughly wholesome to himself, largely increasing his physical, moral, and intellectual energy, and not injurious to others. As a man of letters he regrets that he has been shut out from that form of artistic expression which would express his own emotions. He has no sense whatever of moral wrong in his actions, and he regards the attitude of society towards those in his position as utterly unjust and founded on false principles.

In the five preceding cases the individuals in question all exhibit what may be called the masculine diathesis; although their affections are directed towards men, they themselves feel as men, not as women, towards the objects of their affections. This finds expression in their choice of the active *rôle* in sexual relations. In the two following cases the subjects prefer the passive *rôle*; one of them is of somewhat feminine nature generally; the other remains masculine in his non-sexual habits.

Case XIX.—Englishman, aged 70, of German descent on father's side. Was first child of his mother, who was 36 at his birth; a younger brother normal; has no other relatives.

He was brought up in England, and went to school at the age of 13. At a very early age, between 6 and 8, was deeply impressed by the handsome face of a young man, a royal trumpeter on horseback, seen in a procession. This, and the sight of the naked body of young men in a rowing match on the river, caused great commotion, but not of a definitely sexual character. This was increased by the sight of a beautiful male model of a young Turk smoking, with his dress open in front, showing much of the breast and below the waist. He became familiar with pictures, admired the male figures of Italian martyrs, and the full, rich forms of the Antinous, and he read with avidity the "Arabian Nights" and other Oriental

tales, translations from the classics, Suetonius, Petronius, etc. He drew naked models in life schools, and delighted in male ballet dancers. As a child he used to perform in private theatricals; he excelled in female parts, and sang the songs of Madame Vestris, encouraged in this by his father.

The sexual organs have never been fully developed, and the testicles, though large, are of flabby consistence. He cannot whistle. He thinks he ought to have been a woman.

At school he was shy and reserved, and had no particular intimacy with any one, although he once desired it. He learnt self-abuse from his younger brother, who had learnt it from an older boy. He has never had erotic dreams. He never touched any one but his brother until later when travelling in Italy, and then only his fellow traveller. When travelling in Asia Minor, he had many opportunities, but always put them aside from fear, afterwards regretting his fearfulness. He yearned for intimacy with particular friends, but never dared to express it. He went much to theatres, and what he saw there incited him to masturbation. When he was about 30 years of age his reserve, and his fear of treachery and extortion, were at last overcome by an incident which occurred late at night at the Royal Exchange, and again in a dark recess in the gallery of the Olympic Theatre when Gustavus Brooke was performing. From that time the Adelphi Theatre, the Italian Opera, and the open parks at night, became his fields of adventure. He remarks that among people crowding to witness a fire he found many opportunities. His especial intimates were a railway clerk and an Italian model. In more recent years he has chiefly found gratification among footmen and policemen.

He is exclusively passive; also likes mutual *fellatio*. He used greatly to admire finely developed forms (conscious of his own shortcomings), shapely limbs and delicate brown hair, and always admired strength and manly vigour. He never took any interest in boys, and has always been indifferent to women.

Case XX.—A medical man, English, aged 30. He believes that his father, who was a magistrate, was very sympathetic towards men; on several occasions he has sat with him on the bench when cases of indecent assault were brought up; he discharged three cases, although there could be little doubt as to their guilt, and was very lenient to the others.

From the age of 9 he loved sleeping with his brother, ten years older, who was in the navy; they slept in different beds, and the child went to bed early, but he always kept awake to see his brother undress, as he adored his naked body; and would then get into his bed. He learnt the habit of masturbation from his brother at the age of nine; at that time there was

no sexual orgasm, but watching it in his brother was a perpetual source of wonder and pleasure. During his brother's absence at sea the boy longed for his return and would practise self-abuse with the thought of his brother's naked body before him. This brother's death was a source of great grief. At the age of 12 he went to boarding school and was constantly falling in love with good-looking boys. He was always taken into one of the bigger boys' bed. At this age he was thoroughly able to enjoy the sexual orgasm with boys. His erotic dreams have always been of men and especially of boys; he has never dreamt sexually of women. From the age of 9 to the age of 21, when he left school, he never gave women a thought sexually, though he always liked their society. For two years after leaving school he had connection with women, not because he thought there was sin in loving his own sex, but because he regarded it as a thing that no one did after leaving school. During these two years he still really preferred men and used to admire the figures of soldiers and sailors. He then paid a visit to London which may be described in his own words: "I went to see an old schoolfellow who was living there. In his room was a young fellow, fair, extremely good-looking, with a good figure and charming manners. From that moment all my past recollections came back: I could not get him out of my mind; in fact I was in love with him. I pictured him naked before me as a lovely statue; my dreams were frequent at night, always of him. For a fortnight after, I practised masturbation with the picture of his lovely face and form always before me. We became fast friends, and from that day women have never entered my thoughts."

Although up to the present he has no wish or intention to marry, he believes that he will eventually do so, because it is thought desirable in his profession; but he is quite sure that his love and affection for men and boys will never lessen.

In earlier life he preferred men from 20 to 35; now he likes boys from 16 upwards; grooms, for instance, who must be good-looking, well developed, cleanly, and of a loveable, unchanging nature; but he would prefer gentlemen. He does not care for mere mutual embracing and reciprocal masturbation; when he really loves a man he desires *pœdicatio* in which he is himself the passive subject.

He has curly hair and moustache, and well-developed sexual organs. His habits are masculine, he has always enjoyed field sports, can swim, ride, drive, and skate. At the same time, he is devoted to music, can draw and paint, and is an ardent admirer of male statuary. While fond of practical occupations of every sort, he dislikes anything that is theoretical.

He has thus described his attitude towards the moral questions involved: "As a medical man I fail to see morally any unhealthi-

ness, or anything that nature should be ashamed of, in connection with, and sympathy for men. My own inclinations lead in that way, and, physically, I find it more beneficial, and without the dangers attached to copulation with women. If not carried to excess, it is a far more healthy practice than self-abuse which is so much done. And I trust that some day it may be taken up and discussed as a medical question in connection with its benefit to health, both physically and morally, and become a recognised thing."

The next case that I have to present, while belonging to the same group, presents the additional feature that the inversion is complicated. In this respect, so far as I am aware, it stands alone among my cases. The individual in question confesses to a desire to experience physical pain and rough treatment at the sexual climax; this perversion has been called Masochism (after the Austrian novelist, Sacher-Masoch, who has often described this state of feeling) by Krafft-Ebing. Such a state of feeling is by some regarded as almost normal in women, and this subject is feminine by nature and habits.

Case XXI.—An Englishman, aged 34, of no profession. The family history shows nothing abnormal. The family is of German and Italian origin, but settled in England for over a century and marrying Englishwomen. He himself has the appearance of an Italian.

His father's proclivities were very strongly towards men, to such an extent, indeed, that he became separated from his wife. His sister avoids the society of men, and has warm attachments with other women; and he is nearly sure that a cousin is attracted to his own sex.

When only about 8 or 9 years of age he became extremely attached to a groom, and even consulted with his sister as to inducing him to go into a shrubbery in order to play with his person. "I fancy," he remarks, "that there was more than mere curiosity in this, as my attachment was rather romantic, and I take it that this was a foreshadowing of what the sexual proclivities were to be later on in life. Certainly, at 14 years of age the sexual love of males began, and I then readily consented to the desire of others, and sought men on my own account. Long before the age of puberty I used to sleep with a pillow on the top of me, and found pleasure and source of excitement in imagining it was a man. The pillow episode having happened before any self-abuse had taken place, and at a time when I did not believe that such a

thing as emission of semen could take place manually (for I hardly believed what my school fellows told me) leads me to conclude that in me this habit had nothing to do with self-abuse. I think it was always my natural proclivity."

He has seldom had erotic dreams—"have not given myself the chance of having many"—but when he had such dreams they have been about equally divided between the sexes. But, while he enjoys the dreams in which males are the subjects, he dislikes those in which females figure.

He has had intercourse with three women in the course of his life, but simply as a matter of duty in order to see if he could be like other men. He did not like it, and it did not seem natural to him. He likes women as friends, and has a very high opinion of their usefulness and goodness, but he never feels inclined to kiss, and still less to take any liberties with them. It is scarcely necessary to add that he is unmarried.

He prefers the educated to the uneducated, as the limited range of the interests that appeal to the latter make association difficult.

The age preferred is from 18 to 45, or even up to 60. He likes *pædicatio* to be practised on him, but he does not himself care to practise it; *fellatio*, however, he likes either actively or passively, and is also able to satisfy himself by intercrural connection.

While preferring the educated, he makes the following interesting remarks concerning his instinctive impulses: "I like soldiers and policemen for the actual sensuality of the moment, but they have so little to talk about that it makes the performance unsatisfactory. I like tall, handsome men (the larger they are in stature the better), very strong, and as sensual as I can get them to be, and I like them to practise *pædicatio* on me, and I prefer it done roughly, and I rather prefer men who are carried away by their lust and bite my flesh at the supreme moment, and I rather like the pain inflicted by their teeth, or elsewhere."

He is of medium height, slight, dark, and delicate. Quick in movement and in temper. His tastes are artistic and musical; he is a pianist. His habits are sedentary, and he does not care for athletic amusements. He possesses, he declares, great power of devotion and fidelity to one man, with whom he can be very loving, extremely sensual, and correspondingly jealous.

With regard to the moral aspect of the matter, he writes:—"I cannot see anything wrong in practising this habit, as long as it is with entire mutual consent. It is certainly less wrong than seducing and ruining women. I daresay, morally and religiously, it would be better to do *nothing at all*, but I take it that that is quite impossible for anyone of my temperament. I always try to make my proclivity bring about good to others, and trust that

any help that I can afford them, or any kindness that I can show them, may to some extent mitigate my offence, if there is any offence in it."

The next case, with which I conclude this first and main group, belongs to a totally different class from all the preceding cases. These, all British, were all obtained privately; they are not the inmates of prisons or of asylums, and in most cases they have never consulted a physician concerning their abnormal instincts. They pass through life as ordinary, sometimes as honoured, members of society. The following case happens to be an American, and he is acquainted with both the prison and the lunatic asylum. There are several points of interest in his history, and he illustrates the way in which sexual inversion can become a matter of medico-legal importance. I think, however, that I am justified in believing that the proportion of sexually inverted persons who reach the police court or the lunatic asylum is not much larger in proportion to the number of sexually inverted persons among us than it is among my cases. For the documents on which I have founded the history of Guy Olmstead I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Talbot of Chicago, well known from his studies of abnormalities of the jaws and face, so often associated with nervous and mental abnormality. He knew the man who addressed to him the letters from which I here quote.

Case XXII.—On the 28th March, 1894, at noon, in the open street in Chicago, Guy T. Olmstead fired a revolver at a letter-carrier named William L. Clifford. He came up from behind and deliberately fired four shots, the first entering Clifford's loins, the other three penetrating the back of his head, so that the man fell and was supposed to be fatally wounded. Olmstead made little attempt to escape, as a crowd rushed up with the usual cry of "Lynch him!" but waved his revolver, exclaiming, "I'll never be taken alive!" and when a police officer disarmed him, "Don't take my gun; let me finish what I have to do." This was evidently an allusion, as will be seen later on, to an intention to destroy himself. He eagerly entered the police-van, however, to escape the threatening mob.

Olmstead, who was 30 years of age, was born near Danville, Ill., in which city he lived for many years. Both parents were born in Illinois. His father, some 20 years ago, shot and nearly killed a wealthy coal operator, induced to commit the crime, it is said, by a secret organisation of a hundred prominent citizens to whom the victim had made himself obnoxious by bringing suits against them for trivial causes. The victim became insane, but the criminal was never punished, and died a few years later (1878) at the age of 44. This man had another son who was considered peculiar. The mother is still living.

Guy Olmstead began to show signs of sexual perversity at the age of 12. He was seduced (we are led to believe) by a man who occupied the same bedroom. Olmstead's early history is not clear from the data to hand. It appears that he began his career as a school teacher in Connecticut, and that he there married the daughter of a prosperous farmer; but shortly after he "fell in love" with her male cousin, whom he describes as a very handsome young man. This led to a separation from his wife, and he went West.

He was never considered perfectly sane, and in October, 1886, we find him in the Kankakee Insane Asylum. A report of his history here has been kindly supplied by the superintendent, Dr. Richard Dewey. His illness was reported as of three years' duration, and caused by general ill-health; heredity doubtful, habits good, occupation that of a school teacher. His condition was diagnosed as paranoia. On admission he was irritable, alternately excited and depressed.

October 26.—Fears John Faulds, the man whom his father shot.

November 30.—Seriously disturbed at night; threw things out of his window. Calls himself Wagner.

Shortly after, had delusions that he was in Paris and was Napoleon.

March, 1887.—Is abusive at times, but does not long retain his spite.

June, 1887.—Sent to open ward, but not trusted there, and returned to main building.

September.—Gloomy and morose.

October.—Typhoid fever.

January, 1888.—Quiet and industrious.

March.—Excitable and irritable.

April 22.—Recovered.

August.—No delusions, but acts queerly.

December.—Quiet and industrious.

January, 1889.—Sent to open ward.

March.—Employed, and in good condition.

May 16.—Went home.

At this period, and again when examined more recently, Olmstead's physical condition is described as, on the whole, normal and fairly good. Height, 5 ft. 8 in.; weight, 159 lbs. Special senses normal; genitals abnormally small, with rudimentary penis. His head is asymmetrical, and is full at the occiput, slightly sunken at the bregma, and the forehead is low. His cephalic index is 78—a normal index. The hair is sandy, and normal in amount over head, face, and body. His eyes are grey, small, and deep set; the zygomæ normal. The nose is large and very thin. There is arrested development of upper jaw. The ears are excessively developed and malformed. The face is very much lined, the naso-labial fissure is deeply cut, and there are well-marked horizontal wrinkles on the forehead, so that he looks at least ten years older than his actual age. The upper jaw is of partial V-shape, the lower well-developed. The teeth and their tubercles and the alveolar process are normal. The breasts are full. The body is generally well-developed; the hands and feet are large.

Olmstead's history is defective for some years after he left Kankakee. In October, 1892, we hear of him as a letter-carrier in Chicago. During the following summer he developed a passion for William Clifford, a fellow letter-carrier about his own age, also previously a school teacher, and regarded as one of the most reliable and efficient men in the service. For a time Clifford seems to have shared this passion, or to have submitted to it, but he quickly ended the relationship and urged his friend to undergo medical treatment, offering to pay expenses himself. Olmstead continued to write letters of the most passionate description to Clifford, and followed him about constantly until the latter's life was made miserable. In December, 1893, Clifford placed the letters in the postmaster's hands, and Olmstead was requested to resign at once. Olmstead complained to the Civil Service Commission at Washington that he had been dismissed without cause, and also applied for reinstatement, but without success.

In the meanwhile, apparently on the advice of friends, he went into hospital, and in the middle of February, 1894, his testicles were removed. No report from the hospital is to hand.

The effect of removing the testicles was far from beneficial, and he began to suffer from hysterical melancholia. A little later he went into hospital again. On March 19th he wrote to Dr. Talbot from the Mercy Hospital, Chicago: "I returned to Chicago last Wednesday night, but felt so miserable I concluded to enter a hospital again, and so came to Mercy, which is very good as hospitals go. But I might as well go to Hades as far as any hope of my getting well is concerned. I am utterly incorrigible, utterly incurable, and utterly impossible. At home I thought for a time

that I was cured, but I was mistaken, and after seeing Clifford last Thursday I have grown worse than ever so far as my passion for him is concerned. Heaven only knows how hard I have tried to make a decent creature out of myself, but my vileness is uncontrollable, and I might as well give up and die. I wonder if the doctors knew that after emasculation it was possible for a man to have erections, commit masturbation, and have the same passion as before. I am ashamed of myself; I hate myself; but I can't help it. I am without medicine, a big, fat, stupid creature, without health or strength, and I am disgusted with myself. I have no right to live, and I guess people have done right in abusing and condemning me. I know now that this disease was born in me, and will leave me only when my breath leaves me. And this is all the harder to bear when I think I might have been a gentleman but for this horror, which has made me attempt suicide, caused me to be incarcerated in an insane asylum three years, and resulted in my being locked up in a cell in an almshouse in Connecticut for three weeks. I have friends among nice people, play the piano, love music, books, and everything that is beautiful and elevating; yet they can't elevate me, because this load of inborn vileness drags me down and prevents my perfect enjoyment of anything. Doctors are the only ones who understand and know my helplessness before this monster. I think and worry till my brain whirls, and I can scarce refrain from crying out my troubles." This letter was written a few days before the crime was committed.

When conveyed to the police-station Olmstead completely broke down and wept bitterly, crying; "Oh! Will, Will, come to me! Why don't you kill me and let me go to him!" (At this time he supposed he had killed Clifford.) A letter was found on him, as follows: "Mercy, March 27th. To Him Who Cares to Read. Fearing that my motives in killing Clifford and myself may be misunderstood, I write this to explain the cause of this homicide and suicide. Last summer Clifford and I began a friendship which developed into love." He then recited the details of the friendship, and continued: "After playing a Liszt rhapsody for Clifford over and over, he said that when our time to die came he hoped we would die together, listening to such glorious music as that. Our time has now come to die, but death will not be accompanied by music. Clifford's love has, alas! turned to deadly hatred. For some reason Clifford suddenly ended our relations and friendship." In his cell he behaved in a wildly excited manner, and made several attempts at suicide, so that he had to be closely watched. A few weeks' later he wrote to Dr. Talbot:—"Cook County Gaol, April 23,—I feel as though I had neglected you in not writing you in all this time, though you may not care to hear from me, as I

have never done anything but trespass on your kindness. But please do me the justice of thinking that I never expected all this trouble, as I thought Will and I would be in our graves and at peace long before this. But my plans failed miserably. Poor Will was not dead, and I was grabbed before I could shoot myself. I think Will really shot himself, and I feel certain others will think so, too, when the whole story comes out in court. I can't understand the surprise and indignation my act seemed to engender, as it was perfectly right and natural that Will and I should die together, and nobody else's business. Do you know I believe that poor boy will yet kill himself, for last November when I in my grief and anger told his relations about our marriage he was so frightened, hurt, and angry that he wanted us both to kill ourselves. I acquiesced gladly in this proposal to commit suicide, but he backed out in a day or two. I am glad now that Will is alive, and am glad that I am alive, even with the prospect of years of imprisonment before me, but which I will cheerfully endure for his sake. And yet for the last ten months his influence has so completely controlled me, both body and soul, that if I have done right he should have the credit for my good deeds, and if I have done wrong he should be blamed for the mischief, as I have not been myself at all, but a part of him, and happy to merge my individuality into his."

Olmstead was tried privately in July. No new points were brought out. He was sentenced to the Criminal Insane Asylum. Shortly afterwards, while still in the prison at Chicago, he wrote to Dr. Talbot: "As you have been interested in my case from a scientific point of view there is a little something more I might tell you about myself, but which I have withheld, because I was ashamed to admit certain facts and features of my deplorable weakness. Among the few sexual perverts I have known I have noticed that all are in the habit of often closing the mouth with the lower lip protruding beyond the upper. [Usually due to arrested development of upper jaw.] I noticed the peculiarity in Mr. Clifford before we became intimate, and I have often caught myself at the trick. Before that operation my testicles would swell and become sore and hurt me, and have seemed to do so since, just as a man will sometimes complain that his amputated leg hurts him. Then, too, my breasts would swell, and about the nipples would become hard and sore and red. Since the operation there has never been a day that I have been free from sharp, shooting pains down the abdomen to the scrotum, being worse at the base of the penis. Now that my fate is decided I will say that really my passion for Mr. Clifford is on the wane, but I don't know whether the improvement is permanent or not. I have absolutely no passion for other

men, and have begun to hope now that I can yet outlive my desire for Clifford, or at least control it. I have not yet told of this improvement in my condition, because I wished people to still think I was insane, so that I would be sure to escape being sent to the penitentiary. I know I was insane at the time I tried to kill both Clifford and myself, and feel that I don't deserve such a dreadful punishment as being sent to a States prison. However, I think it was that operation and my subsequent illness that caused my insanity rather than passion for Clifford. I should very much like to know if you really consider sexual perversion an insanity."

When discharged from the Criminal Insane Asylum, Olmstead returned to Chicago and demanded his testicles from the City Postmaster, whom he accused of being in a systematised conspiracy against him. He asserted that the Postmaster was one of the chief agents in a plot against him, dating from before the castration. He was then sent to the Cook Insane Hospital. It seems probable that a condition of paranoia is now firmly established.

Psychosexual Hermaphroditism.

This is the somewhat awkward name given to that form of inversion in which there exists a sexual attraction to both sexes. It is decidedly less common than simple inversion. We are only justified in including within this group those persons who find sexual pleasure and satisfaction both with men and with women, but in more than one of the following cases the homosexual is more powerful than the heterosexual instinct, and it is possible that these should really be regarded as cases of simple inversion. We have to remember that there is every inducement for the sexual invert to cultivate a spurious attraction to the opposite sex. In one case (XXIII) the heterosexual instinct seems to have been acquired; in another, however (XXIV), the homosexual instinct is apparently acquired.

Case XXIII.—So far as is known the heredity is good on both sides.

He dates his homosexual desires from puberty. Between the ages of 16 and 20 he practised masturbation to excess. He has never felt much attraction towards women except in one case which ended (at the age of 25) in marriage. He finds marriage satisfactory on the whole, but is not enthusiastic about it.

He is an artist, of good physique, but highly nervous. He is sympathetic, very imaginative, regarded by his friends as a simple and beautiful nature somewhat lacking in strength.

Between the ages of 16 and 23 he had many love affairs, mostly with boys, but in one or two cases with older men. Since marriage there have been none of at all a serious character. He has in no case practised *pædicatio*.

He regards sexual inversion as in all respects on the same level as normal sexuality.

Case XXIV.—Age 30, a brain-worker, of moderate physique and nervous temperament, not well balanced, rather passionate and jealous, but thoroughly good natured. Both parents of healthy stock, so far as is known.

He practised masturbation to a slight extent about the age of puberty. From the age of 15 or 16 he was strongly attracted to women, and had a constant succession of small love-affairs culminating in a violent one which ended in disappointment. He was then 20 years of age. A few months later the homosexual instinct first showed itself, spontaneously, without any assignable cause. For about a year the normal instinct disappeared, but reappeared and still continues. His homosexual feeling is only for one person, and the passion has continued, though not at the white heat of the first year or so, for ten years. His erotic dreams are about males.

He cannot afford to marry, but otherwise would probably do so.

He has had no sexual relationship with his friend, although the impulse is very strong. He has been restrained, partly by fear of offence to the other person's feelings and partly by personal scruples. He used to have a horror of such things both in his own case and that of others. He has got over this, but still looks on it as doubtful, while freely confessing his own infatuation in this one case.

Case XXV.—Englishman, 40 years of age, retired from business. So far as he knows, belongs to a family that is quite normal.

Homosexual desires began at the age of 11 at a small private school, and were afterwards developed at a large public school. He did not practise masturbation. His erotic dreams were connected with individuals of both sexes, but more usually, he thinks, with women. He likes women in a general way and enjoys their society, but has always had a greater feeling of attraction towards a beautiful youth of 18 or 20 than towards a girl of the same age. He has often had connection with women, but, though he liked it, he has always preferred that with men. He has never been able to make up his mind to marry.

When a young boy he liked boys of his own age, but as he grew

older preferred those aged between 20 and 28, as also he does at present. Those belonging to his own social position, and clerks in business, he likes best, but is not averse at times to servants, sailors and soldiers, provided they are clean, manly, and attractive in voice and manner. His usual method of gratification is intercrural connection, but at times he has been willing to practise *pædicatio.*

He was fond of riding, boating and sports as a boy; he is also fond of music and painting. His chief regret in connection with his homosexual instincts is that he is obliged to lead a double life.

Case XXVI.—Englishman, aged 22, clerk. A cousin on the mother's side was sexually inverted. The family otherwise normal and long-lived.

As a child he preferred men's society, and would rather sit on the knees of men than of women. He does not masturbate. His erotic dreams are usually of men, but sometimes of women. He has no aversion for women, but, on the contrary, great sexual attraction to them, and connection has often taken place successfully, but at the same time he has an equal fondness and sexual liking for males. He could not, he says, remain faithful to any woman, but could certainly remain faithful to a man, and such love would kill desire for women. He has remained quite faithful to one man for three years. He is not married, and has no wish for marriage. He is attracted to men of his own age, and practises either *pædicatio* or *fellatio.*

In appearance he is broadly built, strong and healthy, and is very fond of athletics in any form.

He has doubts as to whether his feelings are right or wrong, but thinks they are natural to him. He believes that it is certainly no more wrong than sexual intercourse with women.

I believe that a thorough psychological investigation of the two preceding cases, as well as of Case XXIII., might show that they are really inverts who have acquired tolerance for heterosexuality. They are not personally known to me. The following case, with which I have been acquainted for many years, I regard as a more genuine example of psychosexual hermaphroditism :—

Case XXVII.—Englishman, independent means, aged 52, married.

His ancestry is of a complicated character. Some of his mother's forefathers in the last and earlier centuries are supposed to have been inverted.

He remembers liking the caresses of his father's footmen when he was quite a little boy. He dreams indifferently about men and

women, and has strong sexual feeling for women. Can copulate, but does not insist on this act; there is a tendency to refined, voluptuous pleasure. He has been married for many years, and there are several children of the marriage.

He is not particular about the class or age of the men he loves. He feels with regard to older men as a woman does, and likes to be caressed by them. He is immensely vain of his physical beauty; he shuns *pædicatio* and does not much care for the sexual act, but likes long hours of voluptuous communion during which his lover admires him. He feels the beauty of boyhood. At the same time he is much attracted by young girls.

He is decidedly feminine in his dress, manner of walking, love of scents, ornaments and fine things. His body is excessively smooth and white, the hips and buttocks rounded. Genital organs normal. His temperament is feminine, especially in vanity, irritability and petty preoccupations. He is much preoccupied with his personal appearance and fond of admiration; on one occasion he was photographed naked as Bacchus. He is physically and morally courageous. He has a genius for poetry and speculation, with a tendency to mysticism.

He feels the discord between his love for men and society, also between it and his love for his wife. He regards it as in part, at least, hereditary and inborn in him.

CHAPTER IV.

SEXUAL INVERSION IN WOMEN.

Prevalence of Sexual Inversion among Women—Among the Lower Races—Temporary Homosexuality in Schools, etc.—Cases XXVIII-XXXI—Physical and Psychic Characteristics of Inverted Women—The Modern Development of Homosexuality among Women—Homosexuality among Prostitutes.

HOMOSEXUALITY has been observed in women from very early times, and in very widespread regions. Refraining from any attempt to trace its history, and coming down to Europe in the seventeenth century, we find a case of sexual inversion in a woman, which seems to be recorded in greater detail than any case in a man had yet been recorded.[1] Moreover, Westphal's first notable case, which

[1] This is the case of Catherina Margaretha Lincken, who married another woman, somewhat after the manner of the Hungarian Countess V. in our own day, *i.e.*, with the aid of an artificial male organ. She was condemned to death for sodomy, and executed in 1721, at the age of 27 (F. C. Müller, "Ein weiterer Fall von conträrer Sexualempfindung," *Friedrich's Blätter*, Heft iv, 1891). This was in Germany, and it is somewhat remarkable that even at a much earlier period such an instrument appears to have been used by German women, for in the twelfth century Bishop Burchardt of Worms speaks of its use as a thing "which some women are accustomed to do". I have found a notice of a similar case in France, during the sixteenth century, in Montaigne's *Journal du Voyage en Italie en 1580* (written by his secretary); it took place near Vitry le Français. Seven or eight girls belonging to Chaumont, we are told, resolved to dress and to work as men; one of these came to Vitry to work as a weaver, and was looked upon as a well-conditioned young man, and liked by everyone. At Vitry she became betrothed to a woman, but, a quarrel arising, no marriage took place. Afterwards "she fell in love with a woman whom she married, and with whom she lived for four or five months, to the wife's great contentment, it is said; but having been recognised by some one from Chaumont, and brought to justice, she was condemned to

may be said to inaugurate the scientific study of sexual inversion, was in a woman. This passion of women for women has, also, formed a favourite subject with the novelist, who has until lately been careful to avoid the same subject as presented in the male.[1] It seems probable that homosexuality is little, if at all, less common in woman than in man.[2]

be hanged. She said she would even prefer this to living again as a girl, and was hanged for using illicit inventions to supply the defects of her sex" (*Journal*, ed. by D'Ancona, 1889, p. 11).

[1] Diderot's famous novel, *La Religieuse*, which, when first published, was thought to have been actually written by a nun, deals with the torture to which a nun was put by the perverse lubricity of her abbess, for whom, it is said, Diderot found a model in the Abbess of Chelles, a daughter of the Regent, and thus a member of a family which for several generations showed a marked tendency to inversion. Balzac, who treated so many psychological aspects of love in a more or less veiled manner, has touched on this in *La Fille aux Yeux d'Or*, in a vague and extravagantly romantic fashion. Gautier (using some slight foundation in fact) made the adventures of a woman who was predisposed to homosexuality, and slowly realises the fact, the central motive of his wonderful romance, *Mademoiselle de Maupin*. He approached the subject purely as an artist and poet, but his handling of it shows remarkable insight. Zola has described sexual inversion with characteristic frankness in *Nana* and elsewhere. Some fifteen years ago a popular novelist, A. Belot, published a novel called *Mademoiselle Giraud, ma Femme*, which was much read; the novelist took the attitude of a moralist who is bound to treat frankly but with all decorous propriety a subject of increasing social gravity. The story is that of a man whose bride will not allow his approach on account of her own *liaison* with a female friend continued after marriage. This book appears to have given origin to a large number of novels, which I have not read, and some of which are said to touch the question with considerably less affectation of propriety. Among other novelists of higher rank who have dealt with the matter may be mentioned Guy de Maupassant, Bourget, Daudet, and Catulle Mendès. Among poets who have used the motive of homosexuality in women with more or less boldness may be found Lamartine (*Regina*), Swinburne (first series of *Poems and Ballads*), and Verlaine (*Parallèlement*).

[2] As regards Germany, see Moll, *Die Conträre Sexualempfindung*, 2nd ed., p. 315. It is noteworthy that a considerable proportion of the number of cases in which inversion has led to crimes of violence, or otherwise acquired medico-legal importance, has been among women. Perhaps the most widely known example is the Memphis case, which occurred in the United States, and has been studied by Dr. Arthur Macdonald ("Observation de Sexualité Pathologique Feminine," *Archives d'Anthro-*

Yet we know comparatively little of sexual inversion in woman ; of the total number of recorded cases of this abnormality, now very considerable, but a small proportion are in women, and the chief monographs on the subject devote but little space to women.

I think there are several reasons for this. Notwithstanding the severity with which homosexuality in women has been visited in a few cases, for the most part men seem to have been indifferent towards it ; when it has been made a crime or a cause for divorce in men, it has usually been considered as no offence at all in women.[1] Another reason is that it is less easy to detect in women ; we are accustomed to a much greater familiarity and intimacy between women than between men, and we are less apt to suspect the existence of any abnormal passion. And allied with this cause we have also to bear in mind the extreme ignorance and the extreme reticence of

pologie Criminelle, May, 1895). In this case a congenital sexual invert, Alice Mitchell, planned a marriage with Freda Ward, taking a male name and costume. This scheme was frustrated by Freda's sister, and Alice Mitchell then cut Freda's throat. There is no reason to suppose that she was insane at the time of the murder. She was a typical invert of a very pronounced kind. Her mother had been insane and had homicidal impulses. She herself was considered unbalanced, and was masculine in her habits from her earliest years. Her face was obviously unsymmetrical and she had an appearance of youthfulness below her age. She was not vicious, and had little knowledge of sexual matters, but when she kissed Freda she was ashamed of being seen, while Freda could see no reason for being ashamed. Another American case (for some details concerning which I am indebted to Dr. J. G. Kiernan, of Chicago) is that of the "Tiller Sisters", two quinteroons, who for many years had acted together under that name in cheap theatres. One, who was an invert, with a horror of men dating from early girlhood, was sexually attached to the other, who was without inborn perversion, and was eventually induced by a man to leave the invert. The latter, overcome by jealousy, broke into the apartment of the couple, and shot the man dead. She was tried, and sent to prison for life. A defence of insanity was made, but for this there was no evidence.

[1] This apparently widespread opinion is represented by the remark of a young man in the last century (concerning the Lesbian friend of the woman he wishes to marry), quoted in the Comte de Tilly's *Souvenirs* : "J'avoue que c'est un genre de rivalité qui ne me donne aucune humeur ; au contraire, cela m'amuse et j'ai l'immoralité d'en rire."

women regarding any abnormal or even normal manifestation of their sexual life. A woman may feel a high degree of sexual attraction for another woman without realising that her affection is sexual, and when she does realise it she is nearly always very unwilling to reveal the nature of her intimate experience, even with the adoption of precautions, and although the fact may be present to her that by helping to reveal the nature of her abnormality she may be helping to lighten the burden of it on other women. Among the numerous confessions voluntarily sent to Krafft-Ebing there is not one by a woman. There is, I think, one other reason why sexual inversion is less obvious in a woman. We have some reason to believe that, while a slight degree of homosexuality is commoner in women than in men, and is favoured by the conditions under which women live, well marked and fully developed cases of inversion are rarer in women than in men. This result would be in harmony with what we know as to the greater affectibility of the feminine organism to slight stimuli, and its less liability to serious variation.[1]

The same kind of aberrations that are found among men in lower races are also seen in women, though they are less frequently recorded. In New Zealand it is stated on the authority of Moerenhout (though I have not been able to find the reference) that the women practised Lesbianism. In South America, where inversion is common among men, we find similar phenomena in women. Among Brazilian tribes Gandavo wrote:

"There are certain women among these Indians who determine to be chaste and know no man. These leave every womanly occupation and imitate the men. They wear their hair the same way as the men, they go to war with them or hunting, bearing their bows; they continue always in the company of men, and each has a woman who serves her and with whom she lives."[2]

This has some analogy with the phenomena seen among South American men. Dr. Holder, however, who has

[1] See H. Ellis, *Man and Woman*, chs. xiii and xv.

[2] Gandavo, quoted by Lomacco, *Archivio per l'Antropologia*, 1889, fasc. 1.

carefully studied the *bote*, tells me that he has met no corresponding phenomena in women.

In Bali, according to Jacobs,[1] homosexuality is almost as common among women as among men, though it is more secretly exercised; the methods of gratification adopted are either digital or lingual, or else by bringing the parts together (tribadism).

Among Arab women, according to Kocher, homosexual practices are rare, though very common among Arab men. In Egypt, according to Godard, Kocher, and others, it is almost fashionable, and every woman in the harem has a "friend". Among the negroes and mulattoes of French Creole countries, according to Corre, homosexuality is very common. "I know a lady of great beauty", he remarks, "a stranger in Guadalupe and the mother of a family, who is obliged to stay away from the markets and certain shops because of the excessive admiration of mulatto women and negresses, and the impudent invitations which they dare to address to her".[2] He refers to several cases of more or less violent sexual attempts by women on young coloured girls of 12 or 14, and observes that such attempts by men on children of their own sex are much rarer. In India (as also in Cochin China, according to Lorion) inversion among women seems to be very rare, at all events in Bengal, even among female prisoners. Surgeon-Captain Buchanan, Superintendent of the Central Jail of Bengal, at Bhagalpur, tells me he has never come across a case, and that his head gaoler, a native with twenty-five years' experience, has never heard of such a thing, although among men it is extremely common. It may be added that feminine criminality in India is rare, and that in this prison there are only 50 women to 1,300 men, although the women are received from a district twice as large as the men. As with male homosexuality, there are geographical, or rather, perhaps, racial peculiarities in the distribution of female homosexuality.

[1] As quoted by Bartels, *Das Weib*, 1895, Bd. I., p. 390.

[2] Corre, *Crime en Pays Creoles*, 1889.

Thus, in the last century, Casanova remarked that the women of Provence are specially inclined to Lesbianism.

In prisons and lunatic asylums in Europe, homosexual practices flourish among the women fully as much, it may probably be said, as among the men. There is, indeed, some reason for supposing that these phenomena are here even more decisively marked than among men.[1] Such manifestations are often very morbid, and doubtless often very vicious; I have no light to throw upon them and I do not propose to consider them.

With girls, as with boys, it is in the school, at the evolution of puberty, that homosexuality first shows itself. It may originate either peripherally or centrally. In the first case two children, perhaps when close to each other in bed, more or less unintentionally generate in each other a certain amount of sexual irritation, which they foster by mutual touching and kissing. This is a spurious kind of homosexuality; it is merely the often precocious play of the normal instinct, and has no necessary relation to true sexual inversion. In the girl who is congenitally predisposed to homosexuality it will continue and develop;

[1] In a Spanish prison, not many years ago, when a new governor endeavoured to reform the homosexual manners of the women, the latter made his post so uncomfortable that he was compelled to resign. Salillas *Vida Penal en España*, asserts that all the evidence shows the extraordinary expansion of Lesbian love in prisons. The *mujeres hombrunas* receive masculine names—Pepe, Chulo, Bernardo, Valiente; new comers are surrounded in the courtyard by a crowd of lascivious women who overwhelm them with honeyed compliments and gallantries and promises of protection, the most robust virago having most successes; a single day and night complete the initiation. The frequency of sexual manifestations in insane women is well recognised. With reference to homosexual manifestations, I will merely quote the experience of Dr. Venturi in Italy: "In the asylums which I have directed I have found inverted tendencies even more common than have other observers; and the vice is not peculiar to any disease or age, for nearly all insane women, except in acute forms of insanity, are subject to it. Tribadism must thus be regarded as without doubt a real equivalent and substitute for coitus, as these persons frankly regard it, in this unlike pæderasty which does not satisfy in insane men the normal sexual desires." (Venturi, *Le Degenerazione psichosessuale*, 1892, p. 148.)

in the majority it will be forgotten as quickly as possible, not without shame, in the presence of the normal object of sexual love. It is specially fostered by those employments which keep women in constant association not only by day but often at night also, without the company of men. This is, for instance, the case with the female servants in large hotels, among whom homosexual practices have been found very common.[1] Laycock, many years ago, noted the prevalence of manifestations of this kind, which he regarded as hysterical, among seamstresses, lacemakers, etc., confined for long hours in close contact to one another in heated rooms. The circumstances under which numbers of young women are employed during the day in large shops and factories, and sleep in the establishment, two in a room or even two in a bed, are favourable to the development of homosexual practices.[2]

In theatres this cause is associated with the general tendency for homosexuality to be connected with dramatic aptitude, a point to which I shall have to refer later on. I am indebted to a friend for the following note: "Passionate friendships among girls, from the most innocent to the most elaborate excursions in the direction of Lesbos, are extremely common in theatres, both among actresses and, even more, among chorus and ballet girls. Here the pell-mell of the dressing-rooms, the wait of perhaps two hours between the performances, during which all the girls are cooped up, in a state of inaction and of excitement, in a few crowded dressing-rooms, affords every opportunity for the growth of this particular

[1] I quote the following from a private letter written on the Continent: "An English resident has told me that his wife has lately had to send away her parlourmaid (a pretty girl) because she was always taking in strange women to sleep with her. I asked if she had been taken from hotel service and found, as I expected, that she had. But neither my friend nor his wife suspected the real cause of these nocturnal visits."

[2] At Wolverhampton, some years ago, the case was reported of a woman in a galvanising "store", who after dinner indecently assaulted a girl who was a new hand. Two young women held the victim down and this seems to show that homosexual vice was here common and recognised.

kind of sentiment. In most of the theatres there is a little circle of girls, somewhat avoided by the others, or themselves careless of further acquaintanceship, who profess the most unbounded devotion to one another. Most of these girls are equally ready to flirt with the opposite sex, but I know certain ones among them who will scarcely speak to a man, and who are never seen without their particular 'pal' or 'chum,' who, if she gets moved to another theatre, will come round and wait for her friend at the stage-door. But here again it is but seldom that the experience is carried very far. The fact is that the English girl, especially of the lower and middle classes, whether she has lost her virtue or not, is extremely fettered by conventional notions. Ignorance and habit are two restraining influences from the carrying out of this particular kind of perversion to its logical conclusions. It is, therefore, among the upper ranks, alike of society and of prostitution, that Lesbianism is most definitely to be met with, for here we have much greater liberty of action, and much greater freedom from prejudices."

The cases in which the source is central, rather than peripheral, nevertheless merge into the foregoing, with no clear line of demarcation. In such cases a school girl or young woman forms an ardent attachment for another girl, probably somewhat older than herself, often a schoolfellow, sometimes her school-mistress, upon whom she will lavish an astonishing amount of affection and devotion. This affection may or may not be returned; usually the return consists of a gracious acceptance of the affectionate services. The girl who expends this wealth of devotion is surcharged with emotion, but she is often unconscious of or ignorant of the sexual impulse, and she seeks for no form of sexual satisfaction. Kissing and the privilege of sleeping with the friend are, however, sought, and at such times it often happens that even the comparatively unresponsive friend feels more or less definite sexual emotion (pudendal turgescence with secretion of mucus and involuntary twitching of the neighbouring muscles), though

little or no attention may be paid to this phenomenon, and in the common ignorance of girls concerning sex matters it may not be understood. In some cases there is an attempt, either instinctive or intentional, to develop the sexual feeling by close embraces and kissing. This rudimentary kind of homosexual relationship is, I believe, more common among girls than among boys, and for this there are several reasons: (1) A boy more often has some acquaintance with sexual phenomena and would frequently regard such a relationship as unmanly; (2) the girl has a stronger need of affection and self-devotion to another person than a boy has; (3) she has not, under our existing social conditions which compel young women to hold the opposite sex at arm's length, the same opportunities of finding an outlet for her sexual emotions; while (4) conventional propriety recognises a considerable degree of physical intimacy between girls, thus at once encouraging and cloaking the manifestations of homosexuality.

These passionate friendships, of a more or less unconsciously sexual character, are certainly common. It frequently happens that a period during which a young woman falls in love at a distance with some young man of her acquaintance alternates with periods of intimate attachment to a friend of her own sex. No congenital inversion is usually involved. I may quote as fairly typical the following observation supplied by a lady who cannot be called inverted:—

"Like so many other children and girls, I was first taught self-indulgence by a girl at school, and I passed on my knowledge to one or two others, with one of whom I remember once, when we were just sixteen, spending the night sensually. We were horribly ashamed after, and that was the only time. When I was only eight there was a girl of thirteen who liked to play with my body, and taught me to play with hers, though I rather disliked doing so. We slept together, and this went on at intervals for six months. These things for the sake of getting enjoyment, and not with any passion, are not uncommon with children, but less common, I think, than people sometimes imagine. I believe I could recall without much difficulty the number of times such things happened with me. In the case I mentioned when I did for one night feel—or try to

excite in myself and my girl companion of sixteen—sensual passion, we had as little children slept together a few times and done these things, and meeting after an absence, just at that age, recalled our childish memories, and were carried away by sensual impulse. But I never felt any peculiar affection or passion for her even at the time, nor she for me. We only felt that our sensual nature was strong at the time, and had betrayed us into something we were ashamed of, and, therefore, we avoided letting ourselves sleep too close after that day. I think we even disliked each other, and were revolted whenever we thought of that night, feeling that each had degraded the other and herself."

It generally happens in the end either that relationship with a man brings the normal impulse into permanent play, or the steadying of the emotions in the stress of practical life leads to a knowledge of the real nature of such feelings and a consequent distaste for them. In some cases, on the other hand, such relationships, especially when formed after school life, are fairly permanent. An energetic emotional woman, not usually beautiful, will perhaps be devoted to another who may have found some rather specialised life-work but who may be very unpractical, and who has probably a very feeble sexual instinct; she is grateful for her friend's devotion, but may not actively reciprocate it. The actual specific sexual phenomena generated in such cases vary very greatly. The emotion may be latent or unconscious; it may be all on one side; it is often more or less recognised and shared. Such cases are on the borderland of true sexual inversion, but they cannot be included within its region. Sex in these relationships is scarcely the essential and fundamental element; it is more or less subordinate and parasitic. There is often a semblance of a sex relationship from the marked divergence of the friends in physical and psychic qualities, and the nervous development of one or both the friends is often slightly abnormal. We have to regard such relationships as hypertrophied friendships, the hypertrophy being due to unemployed sexual instinct.

For many of the remarks which I have to make regard-

ing true inversion in women I am not able to bring forward the justificatory individual instances. I possess a considerable amount of information, but, owing to the tendencies already mentioned, this information is for the most part more or less fragmentary, and I am not always free to use it.

A class of women to be first mentioned, a class in which homosexuality, while fairly distinct, is only slightly marked, is formed by the women to whom the actively inverted woman is most attracted. These women differ in the first place from the normal or average woman in that they are not repelled or disgusted by lover-like advances from persons of their own sex. They are not usually attractive to the average man, though to this rule there are many exceptions. Their faces may be plain or ill-made, but not seldom they possess good figures, a point which is apt to carry more weight with the inverted woman than beauty of face. Their sexual impulses are seldom well marked, but they are of strongly affectionate nature. On the whole, they are women who are not very robust and well-developed, physically or nervously, and who are not well adopted for child-bearing, but who still possess many excellent qualities, and they are always womanly. One may perhaps say that they are the pick of the women whom the average man would pass by. No doubt this is often the reason why they are open to homosexual advances, but I do not think it is the sole reason. So far as they may be said to constitute a class, they seem to possess a genuine though not precisely sexual preference for women over men, and it is this coldness rather than lack of charm which often renders men rather indifferent to them.

The actively inverted woman differs from the woman of the class just mentioned in one fairly essential character: a more or less distinct trace of masculinity. She may not be, and frequently is not, what would be called a "mannish" woman, for the latter may imitate men on grounds of taste and habit unconnected with sexual perversion,

while in the inverted woman the masculine traits are part of an organic instinct which she by no means always wishes to accentuate. The inverted woman's masculine element may in the least degree consist only in the fact that she makes advances to the woman to whom she is attracted and treats all men in a cool, direct manner, which may not exclude comradeship, but which excludes every sexual relationship, whether of passion or merely of coquetry. As a rule the inverted woman feels absolute indifference towards men, and not seldom repulsion. And this feeling, as a rule, is instinctively reciprocated by men.

Case XXVIII.—Miss S., age 38, living in a city of the United States of America, a business woman of fine intelligence, prominent in professional and literary circles. Her general health is good, but she belongs to a family in which there is a marked neuropathic element. She is of rather phlegmatic temperament, well poised, always perfectly calm and self-possessed, rather retiring in disposition, with gentle, dignified bearing.

She says she cannot care for men, but that all her life has been "glorified and made beautiful by friendship with women", whom she loves as a man loves women. Her character is, however, well disciplined, and her friends are not aware of the nature of her affections. She tries not to give all her love to one person, and endeavours (as she herself expresses it) to use this "gift of loving" as a stepping-stone to high mental and spiritual attainments. She is described by one who has known her for several years as "having a high nature, and instincts unerringly toward high things".

Case XXIX.—Miss M., aged 29, the daughter of English parents (both musicians), who were both of what is described as "intense" temperaments, and there is a neurotic element in the family; she is herself, however, free from nervous disease, though very sensitive in nature. At birth she was very small (? born prematurely). In a portrait taken at the age of 4 the nose, mouth and ears are abnormally large, and she wears a little boy's hat. As a child she did not care for dolls or for pretty clothes, and often wondered why other children found so much pleasure in them. "As far back as my memory goes", she writes, "I cannot recall a time when I was not different from other children. I felt bored when other little girls came to play with me, though I was never rough or boisterous in my sports". Sewing was distasteful to her. Still she cared little more for the pastimes of boys, and found her favourite amusement in reading, especially adventures and fairy tales. She was

always quiet, timid and self-conscious. The instinct first made its appearance in the latter part of her eighth or the first part of her ninth year. She was strongly attracted by the face of a teacher who used to appear at a side window on the second floor of the school-building and ring a bell to summon the children to their classes. The teacher's face seemed very beautiful but sad, and she thought about her continually. A year later this teacher was married and left the school, and the impression gradually faded away. The next feelings were experienced when she was about eleven years of age. A young lady came to visit a next-door neighbour, and made so profound an impression on the child that she was ridiculed by her playmates for preferring to sit in a dark corner on the lawn—where she might watch this young lady—rather than to play games. Being a sensitive child, after this experience she was careful not to reveal her feelings to anyone. She felt instinctively that in this she was different from other children. So she did not speak to anyone of her feelings. Her sense of beauty developed early, but there was always an indefinable feeling of melancholy associated with it. The twilight—a dark night when the stars shone brightly—all of these had a very depressing effect upon her but possessed a strong attraction nevertheless, and pictures appealed to her. At the age of twelve, she fell in love with a schoolmate, and wept bitterly because they could not be confirmed at the same time. The face of this friend reminded her of one of Dolce's Madonnas which she loved. Later on she loved an invalid friend very dearly, and devoted herself to her care; and upon the death of this friend, eight years afterwards, she resolved never to let her heart go out to anyone again. She is reticent regarding the details of these relationships, but it is evident that specific physical gratification plays no part in them. "I love few people", she writes, "but in these instances when I have permitted my heart to go out to a friend I have always experienced most exalted feelings, and have been made better by them morally, mentally and spiritually. Love is with me a religion. The very nature of my affection for my friends precludes the possibility of any element entering into it which is not absolutely pure and sacred".

With regard to her attitude towards the other sex, she writes: "I have never felt a dislike for men, but have good comrades among them. During my childhood I associated with both girls and boys, enjoying them all, but wondering why the girls cared to flirt with boys. Later in life I have had other friendships with men, some of whom cared for me, much to my regret, for, naturally, I do not care to marry".

She is a musician, and herself attributes her nature in part to her

artistic temperament. She is of good intelligence, and always stood well in her classes, but the development of the intellectual faculties is somewhat uneven. While weak in mathematics, she shows remarkable talent for various branches of physical science, to which of late years she has devoted herself, but has always been hampered by this deficiency in mathematics. She is small, though her features are rather large. Medical examination shows a small vagina and orifice, though scarcely, perhaps, abnormally so in proportion to her size. A further more detailed examination has recently been made in connection with the present history (though not at my instance) by an obstetric physician of high standing, and I am indebted to his kindness for the following notes:—

"Anatomically Miss M. is very near being a normal woman. Her pelvic measurements are about normal, being—

Bis-ant. superior spines		9½ in.
Bis-iliac crests		10½ in.
Bi-greater trochanteric		12 in.
External conjugate		7 in.
Height		5 ft. 4 in.
Neck Measurements	Around its base	13¼ in.
	On level with cricoid cart.	11½ in.
	About the larynx	11½ in.

Sexual Organs—(*a*) Internal: Uterus and ovaries appear normal (*b*) External; Small clitoris, with this irregularity, that the lower folds of the labia minora, instead of uniting one with the other and forming the fraenum, are extended upward along the sides of the clitoris, while the upper folds are poorly developed, furnishing the clitoris with a very scant hood. The labia majora depart from normal conformation in being fuller in their posterior half than in their anterior part, so that when the subject is in the supine position they sag, as it were, presenting a slight resemblance to fleshy sacs, but in substance and structure they feel normal.

"The deviations mentioned are all I am able to note from the strictly normal form and shape of these organs.

"The general conformation of the body is feminine. But with arms, palms up, extended in front of her with inner sides of hands touching, she cannot bring the inner sides of forearms together, as nearly every woman can, showing that the feminine angle of arm is lost. The breasts are of fair size, and the nipples readily respond to titillation. Titillation of the sexual organs receives no response at all. [This does not show that the sexual sense is lost, but proves the absence of any habits of excessive sexual excitement leading to sexual hyperæsthesia.] I am persuaded, however, that Miss M. possesses the sexual sense to a very marked degree."

She is left-handed and shows a better development throughout on the left side. She is quiet and dignified, but has many boyish tricks of manner and speech which seem to be instinctive; she tries to watch herself continually, however, in order to avoid them, affecting feminine ways and feminine interests, but always being conscious of an effort in so doing.

Miss M. can see nothing wrong in her feelings; and until, a year ago, she came across the translation of Krafft-Ebing's book she had no idea "that feelings like mine were 'under the ban of society' as he puts it, or were considered unnatural and depraved". She would like to help to bring light on the subject and to lift the shadow from other lives.

Case XXX.—Miss B., age 26. Among her brothers and sisters, one is of neurotic temperament, another is inverted. She is herself perfectly healthy.

She has no repugnance to men, and would even like to try marriage, if the union were not permanent, but, except in one instance, she has never felt any sexual attraction to a man. In this exceptional instance, she soon realised that she was not adapted for heterosexual relationships, and broke off the engagement she had formed.

She is attracted to women of various kinds, though she recognises that there are some women to whom only men are attracted. Some years since she had a friend to whom she was very strongly attached, but the physical manifestations do not appear to have become very pronounced. Since then her thoughts have been much occupied by several women to whom she has made advances, which have not been encouraged to pass beyond ordinary friendship. In one case, however, she has formed an intimate relationship with a girl somewhat younger than herself, and a very feminine personality, who accepts Miss B.'s ardent love with pleasure, but in a passive manner, and who does not consider that the relationship would stand in the way of her marrying, though she would on no account tell her husband.

The relationship has for the first time aroused Miss B.'s latent sexual emotions. She seems to find sexual satisfaction in kissing and embracing her friend's body, but there appears to be no orgasm. This relationship has made a considerable change in her, and rendered her radiant and happy.

In her behaviour towards men Miss B. reveals no sexual shyness. Men are not usually attracted to her.

There is nothing striking in her appearance; her person and manners, though careless, are not conspicuously man-like. She is fond of exercise, and smokes a good deal, has artistic tastes, is indifferent to dress.

In the next case the inversion is more fully developed:

Case XXXI.—Miss H., aged 30. Among her paternal relatives there is a tendency to eccentricity and to nervous disease. Her grandfather drank; her father was eccentric and hypochondriacal; and suffered from obsessions. Her mother and mother's relatives are entirely healthy, and normal in disposition.

At the age of 4 she liked to see the nates of a little girl who lived near. When she was about six the nursemaid, sitting in the fields, used to play with her own parts, and told her to do likewise, saying it would make a baby come; she occasionally touched herself in consequence, but without producing any effect of any kind. When she was about 8 she used to see various nursemaids uncover their children's sexual parts and show them to each other. She used to think about this when alone, and also about whipping. She never cared to play with dolls, and in her games always took the part of a man. Her first rudimentary sex feelings appeared at the age of 8 or 9, and were associated with dreams of whipping and being whipped, which were most vivid between the ages of 11 and 14, wheh they died away on the appearance of affection for girls. She menstruated at 12.

Her earliest affection, at the age of 13, was for a schoolfellow, a graceful, coquettish girl with long golden hair and blue eyes. Her affection displayed itself in performing all sorts of small services for this girl, in constantly thinking about her, and in feeling deliciously grateful for the smallest return. At the age of 14 she had a similar passion for a cousin; she used to look forward with ecstasy to her visits, and especially to the rare occasions when the cousin slept with her; her excitement was then so great that she could not sleep, but there was no conscious sexual excitement. At the age of 15 or 16 she fell in love with another cousin; her experiences with this girl were full of delicious sensations; if the cousin only touched her neck, a thrill went through her body which she now regards as sexual. Again, at 17, she had an overwhelming, passionate fascination for a schoolfellow, a pretty, commonplace girl, whom she idealised and etherealised to an extravagant extent. This passion was so violent that her health was to some extent impaired, but it was purely unselfish, and there was nothing sexual in it. On leaving school at the age of 19 she met a girl of about the same age as herself, very womanly, but not much attracted to men. This girl became very much attached to her, and sought to gain her love. After some time Miss H. was attracted by this love, partly from the sense of power it gave her, and an intimate relation grew up. This relation became vaguely physical, Miss H. taking the initiative, but her friend desiring such relations and taking extreme pleasure in them; they used to touch

and kiss each other tenderly (especially on the *mons veneris*), with equal ardour. They each experienced a strong pleasurable feeling in doing this, and sexual erethism, but no orgasm, and it does not appear that this ever occurs. Their general behaviour to each other was that of lovers, but they endeavoured as far as possible to hide this fact from the world. This relation lasted for several years, and would have continued, had not Miss H.'s friend, from religious and moral scruples, put an end to the physical relationship. Miss H. had been very well and happy during this relationship; this interference with it seems to have exerted a disturbing influence, and also to have aroused her sexual desires, though she was still scarcely conscious of their real nature. Soon afterwards another girl of voluptuous type made love to Miss H., to which the latter yielded, giving way to her feelings as well as to her love of domination. She was afterwards ashamed of this episode. Her remorse was so great that when her friend, repenting her scruples, implored her to let their relationship be on the same footing as of old, Miss H., in her turn, resisted every effort to restore the physical relation. She kept to this resolution for some years, and sought to divert her thoughts into intellectual channels. When she again formed an intimate relationship it was with a congenial friend, and lasted for several years.

She has never masturbated. Occasionally, but very rarely, she has had dreams of riding accompanied by pleasurable sexual emotion (she cannot recall any actual experience to suggest this, though fond of riding). She has never had any kind of sexual dreams about a male; of late years she has occasionally had erotic dreams about women.

Her feeling towards men is not in the slightest degree sexual, and she has never had the slightest attraction towards a man. She likes them as good comrades, as men like each other. She much enjoys the society of men, but simply on account of their intellectual attraction. Her feeling towards marriage has always been one of absolute repugnance. She can, however, imagine a man whom she could love or marry.

She is attracted to womanly women—sincere, reserved, pure, but courageous in character. She is not attracted to intellectual women, but at the same time cannot endure silly women. The physical qualities that attract her most are not so much beauty of face as graceful, but not too slender a body with beautiful curves. The women she is drawn to are usually somewhat younger than herself. Women are much attracted to her, and without any effort on her part. She likes to take the active and protecting *rôle* with them. She is herself energetic in character, and with a somewhat neurotic temperament.

She finds sexual satisfaction in tenderly touching, caressing and kissing the loved one's body. (There is no *cunnilingus*, which she regards with abhorrence.) She feels more tenderness than passion. There is a high degree of sexual erethism when kissing, but orgasm is rare and is produced by lying on the friend or by the friend lying on her, without any special contact. She likes being herself kissed, but not so much as taking the active part.

She believes that homosexual love is morally right when it is really part of a person's nature, and provided that the nature of homosexual love is always made plain to the object of such affection. She does not approve of it as a mere makeshift, or expression of sensuality, in normal women. She has sometimes resisted the sexual expression of her feelings, once for years at a time, but always in vain. The effect on her of loving women is distinctly good, she asserts, both spiritually and physically, while repression leads to morbidity and hysteria. She has suffered much from neurasthenia at various periods, but under appropriate treatment it has slowly diminished. The inverted instinct is too deeply rooted to eradicate, but it is well under control.[1]

The chief characteristic of the sexually inverted woman is a certain degree of masculinity. As I have already pointed out, a woman who is inclined to adopt the ways and garments of men is by no means necessarily inverted. In the volume of *Women Adventurers*, edited by Mrs. Norman for the Adventure Series, there is no trace of inversion; in most of these cases, indeed, love for a man was precisely the motive for adopting male garments and manners. Again, Colley Cibber's daughter, Charlotte Charke, a boyish and vivacious woman, who spent much of her life in men's clothes, and ultimately wrote a lively volume of memoirs, appears never to have been attracted to women, though women were often attracted to her, believing her to be a man; it is, indeed, noteworthy that

[1] The most completely recorded case of sexual inversion in a woman is that of the Hungarian Countess Sarolta V., whose false marriage with a young woman attracted much notice in the papers a few years ago. I regard this case as in most respects so typical (excepting only as regards the fraud which led to its publicity) that I have summarised it rather fully in Appendix F., basing my account chiefly on the very full medico-legal report of the case published a few years ago by Dr. C. Birnbacher in *Friedrichs Blätter f. gericht. Med.*

women seem with special frequency to fall in love with disguised persons of their own sex.[1] There is, however, a very pronounced tendency among sexually inverted women to adopt male attire when practicable. In such cases male garments are not usually regarded as desirable chiefly on account of practical convenience, nor even in order to make an impression on other women, but because the wearer feels more at home in them. Thus Moll mentions the case of a young governess of sixteen who, while still unconscious of her sexual perversion, used to find pleasure when everyone was out of the house in putting on the clothes of a youth belonging to the family.[2]

[1] A very interesting example of a woman with an irresistible impulse to adopt men's clothing and lead a man's life, but who did not, so far as is known, possess any sexual impulses, is that of Mary Frith, commonly called Moll Cutpurse, who lived in London at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The *Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Frith* appeared in 1662; Middleton and Rowley also made her the heroine of their delightful comedy, *The Roaring Girl* (Mermaid Series, Middleton's Plays, vol. 2), somewhat idealising her, however. She seems to have belonged to a neurotic and eccentric stock; "each of the family", her biographer says, "had his particular freak". As a child she only cared for boys' games, and could never adapt herself to any woman's avocations. "She had a natural abhorrence to the tending of children". Her disposition was altogether masculine: "she was not for mincing obscenity, but would talk freely, whatever came uppermost". She never had any children, and was not taxed with debauchery: "No man can say or affirm that ever she had a sweetheart or any such fond thing to dally with her"; a mastiff was the only thing she joyed in. Her life was not altogether honest, but not so much from any organic tendency to crime, it seems, as because her abnormal nature and restlessness made her an outcast.' She was too fond of drink, and is said to have been the first woman who smoked tobacco. Nothing is said or suggested of any homosexual practices, but we see clearly here what may be termed the homosexual diathesis. Another and more distinguished instance was Sir James Barry.

[2] A few cases have been recorded of inverted women who have spent the greater part of their lives in men's clothing and been generally regarded as men. I may cite the case of Lucy Ann Slater, *alias* the Rev. Joseph Lobdell, recorded by Dr. Wise (*Alienist and Neurologist*, 1883). She was masculine in character, features, and attire. In early life she married and had a child, but had no affection for her husband, who eventually left her. As usual in such cases, her masculine habits appeared in early childhood. She was expert with the rifle, lived the life of a trapper and hunter among the Indians, and was known as the "Female Hunter of

And when they still retain female garments these usually show some traits of masculine simplicity, and there is nearly always a disdain for the petty feminine artifices of the toilet. Even when this is not obvious there are all sorts of instinctive gestures and habits which may suggest to female acquaintances the remark that such a person "ought to have been a man". The brusque, energetic movements, the attitude of the arms, the direct speech, the inflexions of the voice, the masculine straightforwardness and sense of honour, and especially the attitude towards men, free from any suggestion either of shyness or audacity, will often suggest the underlying psychic abnormality to a keen observer.[1] Although there is

Long Eddy". She published a book regarding those experiences. I have not been able to see it, but it is said to be quaint and well written. She regarded herself as practically a man, and became attached to a young woman of good education, who had also been deserted by her husband. The affection was strong and emotional, and of course without deception. It was interrupted by her recognition and imprisonment as a vagabond, but on the petition of her "wife" she was released. "I may be a woman in one sense", she said, "but I have peculiar organs which make me more a man than a woman". She alluded to an enlarged clitoris which she could erect, she said, as a turtle protudes its head, but there was no question of its use in coitus. She was ultimately brought to the asylum with paroxymal attacks of exaltation and erotomania (without self-abuse apparently) and corresponding periods of depression, and she died with progressive dementia. I may also mention the case (briefly recorded in the *Lancet*, February 22nd, 1884) of a person called John Coulter, who was employed for twelve years as a labourer by the Belfast Harbour Commissioners. When death resulted from injuries caused in falling downstairs, it was found that this person was a woman. She was fifty years of age, and had apparently spent the greater part of her life as a man. When employed in early life as a man-servant on a farm, she had married her mistress's daughter. The pair were married for twenty-nine years, but during the last six years lived apart, owing to the "husband's" dissipated habits. No one ever suspected her sex. She was of masculine appearance and good muscular development. The "wife" took charge of the body and buried it.

[1] I may quote a description by Prof. Zuccarelli, of Naples, of an unmarried middle-class woman of thirty-five, the subject of inversion, as being characteristic of this bearing in its most developed form. "While retaining feminine garments her bearing is as nearly as possible a man's. She wears her thin hair thrown carelessly back *alla Umberto*, and fastened in a simple knot at the back of her head. The breasts are little developed,

sometimes a certain general coarseness of physical texture, we do not find any trace of a beard or moustache.[1]

It is probable, however, that there are more genuine approximations to the masculine type. The muscles are everywhere firm with a comparative absence of soft connective tissue, so that an inverted woman may give an unfeminine impression to the sense of touch. Not only is the tone of the voice often different, but there is reason to suppose that this rests on a basis of anatomical modification. At Moll's suggestion, Flatau examined the larynx in twenty-three inverted women, and found in several a very decidedly masculine type of larynx, especially in cases of distinctly congenital origin. In the habits not only is there frequently a pronounced taste for smoking (sometimes found in quite feminine women), but there is also a dislike and sometimes incapacity for needlework and other domestic occupations, while there is often some capacity for athletics. No masculine character is usually to be found in the sexual organs, which are sometimes

and compressed beneath a high corset; her gown is narrow without the expansion demanded by fashion. Her straw hat with broad plaits is perhaps adorned by a feather or she wears a small hat like a boy's. She does not carry an umbrella or sunshade, and walks out alone, refusing the company of men; or is accompanied by a woman, as she prefers, offering her arm and carrying the other hand at her waist, with the air of a fine gentleman. In a carriage her bearing is peculiar and unlike that habitual with women. Seated in the middle of the double seat, her knees being crossed or else the legs well separated, with a virile air and careless easy movement she turns her head in every direction, finding an acquaintance here and there with her eye, saluting men and women with a large gesture of the hand as a business man would. In conversation her pose is similar; she gesticulates much, is vivacious in speech, with much power of mimicry, and while talking she arches the inner angles of her eyebrow, making vertical wrinkles at the centre of her forehead. Her laugh is open and explosive and uncovers her white rows of teeth. With men she is on terms of careless equality." ("Inversione congenita dell' istinto sessuale in una donna," *L'Anomalo*, February, 1889.)

[1] It is a mistake to suppose that bearded women approach the masculine type. See Max Bartels' elaborate study, "Ueber abnormal Behaarung beim Menschen," *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologic*, Bd. XIII, 1881. p. 219. And for the same condition in insanity, L. Harris-Liston, "Cases of Bearded Women," *British Med. Journal*, June 2nd, 1894.

undeveloped. Notwithstanding these characters, however, sexual inversion in a woman is as a rule not more obvious than in a man. At the same time, the inverted woman is not usually attractive to men. She herself generally feels the greatest indifference to men, and often cannot understand why a woman should love a man, though she easily understands why a man should love a woman. She shows, therefore, nothing of that sexual shyness and engaging air of weakness and dependence which are an invitation to men. The man who is passionately attracted to an inverted woman is usually of rather a feminine type. For instance, in one case present to my mind, he was of somewhat neurotic heredity, of slight physique, not sexually attractive to women, and very domesticated in his manner of living—in short, a man who might easily have been passionately attracted to his own sex.

While the inverted woman is cold, or at most comradely, in her bearing towards men, she may become shy and confused in the presence of attractive persons of her own sex, even unable to undress in their presence, and full of tender ardour for the woman whom she loves.

The passion finds expression in sleeping together, kissing and close embraces, with more or less sexual excitement, the orgasm sometimes occurring when one lies on the other's body; the extreme gratification is *cunnilingus* (*in lambendo lingua genitalia alterius*), sometimes called sapphism. There is no connection, as was once supposed, between sexual inversion in women and an enlarged clitoris, which has very seldom been found in such cases, and never, so far as I am aware, to an extent that would permit of its use in coitus with another woman.

The inverted woman is an enthusiastic admirer of feminine beauty, especially of the statuesque beauty of the body, unlike in this the normal woman whose sexual emotion is but faintly tinged by æsthetic feeling. In her sexual habits we rarely find the degree of promiscuity which is not uncommon among inverted men. I am

inclined to agree with Moll that homosexual women love more faithfully and lastingly than homosexual men.[1] Sexually inverted women are not rarely married; Moll, from various confidences which he has received, believes that inverted women have not the same horror of normal coitus as inverted men; this is probably due to the fact that the women under such circumstances can retain a certain passivity. In other cases there is some degree of psycho-sexual hermaphroditism, although, as among inverted men, the homosexual instinct seems usually to give the greater relief and gratification.

It has been stated by many observers who are able to speak with some authority—in America, in France, in Germany, in England—that homosexuality is increasing among women.[2] It seems probable that this is true. There are many influences in our civilisation to-day which encourage such manifestations. The modern movement of emancipation—the movement to obtain the same rights

[1] It is noteworthy how many inverted women have, with more or less fraud, been married to the woman of their choice, the couple living happily together for long periods. In one case, which is probably unique, the ceremony was gone through without any deception on any side. A congenitally inverted Englishwoman of distinguished intellectual ability, now dead, was attached to the wife of a clergyman, who, in full cognisance of all the facts of the case, privately married the two ladies in his own church.

[2] There are few traces of homosexuality among women in English social history. In Charles II's court, the *Mémoires de Grammont* tell us (as Dr. Kiernan has reminded me), that Miss Hobart was credited with Lesbian tendencies: "Mademoiselle Hobart était d'un caractère aussi nouveau pour lors en Angleterre que sa figure paraissait singulierê dans un pays où, d'être jeune, et de n'être pas plus ou moins belle, est un reproche. Elle avait de la taille, quelque chose de fort délibéré dans l'air, beaucoup d'esprit, et cet esprit était fort orné sans être fort discret. Elle avait beaucoup de vivacité dans une imagination peu réglée, et beaucoup de feu dans des yeux peu touchants. Bientôt le bruit véritable ou faux de cette singularité se répandit dans le cour. On y était assez grossier pour n'avoir jamais entendu parler de ce raffinement de l'ancienne Grèce sur les goûts de la tendresse, et l'on se mit en tête que l'illustre Hobart, qui paraissait si tendre pour les belles, était quelque chose de plus de ce qu'elle paraissait." The passage is interesting because it shows us how rare was the exception.

and duties, the same freedom and responsibility, the same education and the same work—must be regarded as, on the whole, a wholesome and inevitable movement. But it carries with it certain disadvantages. It has involved an increase in feminine criminality and in feminine insanity, which are being elevated towards the masculine standard. In connection with these we can scarcely be surprised to find an increase in homosexuality which has always been regarded as belonging to an allied, if not the same, group of phenomena. Woman are, very justly, coming to look upon knowledge and experience generally as their right as much as their brothers' right. But when this doctrine is applied to the sexual sphere it finds certain limitations. Intimacies of any kind between young men and young woman are as much discouraged socially now as ever they were; as regards higher education, the mere association of the sexes in the lecture-room or the laboratory or the hospital is discouraged in England and in America. Marriage is decaying, and while men are allowed freedom, the sexual field of women is becoming restricted to trivial flirtation with the opposite sex, and to intimacy with their own sex; having been taught independence of men and disdain for the old theory which placed women in the moated grange of the home to sigh for a man who never comes, a tendency develops for women to carry this independence still further and to find love where they find work. I do not say that these unquestionable influences of modern movements can directly cause sexual inversion, though they may indirectly, in so far as they promote hereditary neurosis; but they develop the germs of it, and they probably cause a spurious imitation. This spurious imitation is due to the fact that the congenital anomaly occurs with special frequency in woman of high intelligence who, voluntarily or involuntarily, influence others.

The frequency of homosexual practices among prostitutes is a fact of some interest and calls for special explanation, for at the first glance it seems in opposition to

all that we know concerning the exciting causes of homosexuality. Regarding the fact there can be no question.[1] It has been noted by all who are acquainted with the lives of prostitutes, though opinion may differ as to its frequency; at Berlin, Moll was told in well-informed quarters, the proportion of prostitutes with Lesbian tendencies is about 25 per cent. This was precisely the proportion at Paris many years ago, according to Parent-Duchatelet, who investigated the matter minutely; to-day, according to Chevalier, it is larger; and Bourneville believes that 75 per cent. of the inmates of the Parisian venereal hospitals have practised homosexuality. In London, so far as my inquiries extend, homosexuality among prostitutes is very much less prevalent, and in a well-marked form is confined to a comparatively small section.

I am indebted to a friend for the following note: "From my experience of the Parisian prostitute, I gather that Lesbianism in Paris is extremely prevalent, indeed, one might almost say normal. In particular, most of the chahut-dancers of the Moulin-Rouge, Casino de Paris, and the other public balls, are notorious for going in couples, and, for the most part, they prefer not to be separated, even in their most professional moments with the other sex. In London, the thing is, naturally, much less obvious, and, I think, much less prevalent; but it is certainly not infrequent. A certain number of well-known prostitutes are known for their tendencies in this direction, which do not, however, interfere in any marked way with the ordinary details of their profession. I do not personally know of a single prostitute who is exclusively Lesbian; I have heard vaguely that there are one or two such anomalies. But I have heard a swell *cocotte* at the Corinthian announce to the whole room that she was going home with a girl; and no one doubted the state-

[1] Even among Arab prostitutes it is found, according to Kocher, though among Arab women generally it is rare.

ment. Her name, indeed, was generally coupled with that of a fifth-rate actress. Another woman of the same kind has a little clientèle of women who buy her photographs in Burlington Arcade. In the lower ranks of the profession, all this is much less common. One often finds women who have simply never heard of such a thing; they know of it in regard to men, but not in regard to women. And they are for the most part quite horrified at the notion, which they consider part and parcel of 'French beastliness'. Of course, almost every girl has her friend, and, when not separately occupied, they often sleep together; but, while in separate, rare cases, this undoubtedly means all that it can mean, for the most part, so far as one can judge, it means no more than it would mean among ordinary girls".

It is evident that there must be some radical causes for the frequency of homosexuality among prostitutes. One such cause doubtless lies in the character of the prostitute's relations with men; these relations are of a professional character, and as the business element becomes emphasised the possibility of sexual satisfaction diminishes; at the best, also, there lacks the sense of social equality, the feeling of possession, and scope for the exercise of feminine affection and devotion. These the prostitute must usually be forced to find either in a "bully" or in another woman. It is interesting in this connection to recall the comparative frequency with which, in men, a love-disappointment with a woman serves to develop a homosexual tendency. Apart from this it must be borne in mind that, in a very large number of cases, the prostitute shows in slight or more marked degree many of the signs of neurotic heredity, of physical and mental "degeneration", so that it is almost possible to look upon prostitutes as a special human variety analogous to instinctive criminals.[1] The irregular life of the prostitute, the undue

[1] This point of view has been specially emphasised by Lombroso and his followers; see Lombroso and Ferrero, *La Donna Delinquente*. Apart from this, these authors regard homosexuality among prostitutes as due to

amount of sexual irritation, and indulgence in alcohol still further emphasise this unbalancing influence; and so we have an undue tendency to homosexuality, just as we have it among criminals, and, to a much less extent, among persons of genius and intellect.[1]

the following causes (p. 410, *et seq.*):—(*a*) excessive and often unnatural venery; (*b*) confinement in a prison, with separation from men; (*c*) close association with the same sex, such as is common in brothels; (*d*) maturity and old age, inverting the secondary sexual characters and predisposing to sexual inversion; (*e*) disgust of men produced by a prostitute's profession, combined with the longing for love.

[1] As the three following chapters relate, for the most part, equally to men and to women, I have not in the present chapter discussed those aspects of inversion which are common to both sexes. But I have pleasure in recording here the opinions of Dr. K., a woman physician in the United States (to whom I have acknowledged my indebtedness in the Preface), more especially since they substantially accord with my own independent results. Referring to her special investigations of sexual inversion in women, she writes: "I have always maintained that this phenomenon, wherever found, indicates a psychic condition which can be properly governed, but cannot be eradicated. I believe that it is a condition due to pre-natal influences, possibly to defective nutrition in intra-uterine life, if the cause is not still more remote. It is unmistakably a sign of degeneration in the race. Also it is my firm belief that the affections, nervous and other, to which this condition sometimes leads, come as a result of the condition, or of the vices which sometimes accompany it. But such effects are not an inevitable result. Of the eight cases which I have reported to you, seven are perfectly sound, physically, and four are remarkable for their intellectual qualities. . . . As to the value of suggestion, I must confess that the experiments along this line which I have witnessed were not of a nature to arouse any enthusiasm. In all such cases I would recommend that the moral sense be trained and fostered, and the persons allowed to keep their individuality, being taught to remember always that they are different from others, and that they must not infringe upon the happiness or rights of others, rather sacrificing their own feelings or happiness when necessary. It is good discipline for them, and will serve in the long run to bring them more favour and affection than any other course. This quality or idiosyncrasy is not essentially evil, but, if rightly used, may prove a blessing to others and a power for good in the life of the individual, nor does it reflect any discredit upon its possessor." In a further more recent communication Dr. K. has been good enough to record the general impressions which her study of sexual inversion in women give rise to. (See Appendix G.)

CHAPTER V.

THE NATURE OF SEXUAL INVERSION.

Analysis of Histories—Race—Heredity—General Health—First Appearance of Homosexual Impulse—Sexual Precocity and Hyperæsthesia—Suggestion and other Exciting Causes of Inversion—Masturbation—Attitude towards Women—Erotic Dreams—Methods of Sexual Relationship—Pseudo-sexual Attraction—Physical Sexual Abnormalities—Artistic and other Aptitudes—Moral Attitude of the Invert.

Before stating briefly my own conclusions as to the nature of sexual inversion, I propose to analyse the facts brought out in the histories which I have been able to study.[1]

Race.—All my cases, thirty-six in number, with three exceptions (from the United States), are British. Ancestry from the point of view of race was not made a matter of special investigation. It appears, however, that at least nineteen are English, or mainly English ; five are Scotch, or of Scotch extraction ; one is Irish, and another largely Irish; three have German fathers, while another is of remote German extraction. Except the presence of the German element, there is nothing remarkable in this ancestry. I am inclined to think that the presence of the German element is not accidental. Apart from the fact that the study of inversion has been mainly carried on in Germany, we may bear in mind the fact, well brought out

[1] The following analysis is based on somewhat fuller versions of my histories than it was necessary to publish in the preceding chapters, as well as on various other histories which I was unable to publish at all. Numerous apparent discrepancies may thus be explained.

in Raffalovich's interesting discussion of "German friendship", that there is a marked tendency for German friendship to assume a sexually emotional warmth.

Heredity.—It is always difficult to deal securely with the significance of heredity, or even to establish a definite basis of facts. I have by no means escaped this difficulty, for in most cases I have not even had an opportunity of cross-examining the subjects whose histories I have obtained. Still the facts, so far as they emerge, have some interest. I possess some record of heredity in thirty-two of my cases. Of these not less than ten assert that they have reason to believe that other cases of inversion have occurred in their families, and, while in some it is only a strong suspicion, in others there is no doubt whatever. In one case there is reason to suspect inversion on both sides. Twelve, so far as can be ascertained, belong to reasonably healthy families; minute investigation would probably reduce the number of these. In twelve cases there is more or less frequency of morbidity or abnormality — eccentricity, alcoholism, neurasthenia, nervous disease—in one or both sides, in addition to inversion, or apart from it. In some of these cases the inverted offspring is the outcome of the union of a very healthy with a thoroughly morbid stock; in some others there is a minor degree of abnormality on both sides.

I do not attach great importance to these results. I am fairly certain that thorough investigation would very considerably enlarge the proportion of cases with morbid heredity. At the same time this enlargement would be chiefly obtained by bringing minor abnormalities to the front, and it would then have to be shown how far the families of average or normal persons are free from such abnormalities. The apologist of sexual inversion asks: What family is free from neuropathic taint? At present it is difficult to answer this question precisely. I believe that a fairly large proportion of families are free from such taint, but it seems probable that the families to which

the inverted belong do not usually present such profound signs of nervous degeneration as we were formerly led to suppose. What we vaguely call "eccentricity" is common among them; insanity is much rarer.

General Health.—It is possible to speak with more certainty of the health of the individual than of that of his family. Of the thirty-six cases, twenty-six—or more than two-thirds—may be said to enjoy good, and sometimes even very good health, though occasionally there is some slight qualification to be made. In eight cases the health is delicate, or at best only fair; in these cases there is sometimes a tendency to consumption, and often marked neurasthenia and a more or less unbalanced temperament. One case (No. II.) is distinctly morbid in a high degree; the remaining case (XXII.) has had insane delusions which required treatment in an asylum. At least nine, who are included among those as having either good or fair health, may be described as of extremely nervous temperament, and in most cases they so describe themselves; a certain proportion of these—at least six—combine great physical and, especially, mental energy with this nervousness; all these are doubtless of neurotic temperament. Only one or two of the cases can be said to be conspicuously lacking in energy. On the whole, therefore, a very large proportion of these inverted individuals are passing through life in an unimpaired state of health, which enables them to do at least their fair share of work in the world; in a very considerable proportion of my cases that work is of high intellectual value. Only in two cases, it will be seen, or at most three, can the general health be said to be distinctly bad.

This result may, perhaps, seem surprising. It must, however, be remembered that my cases do not represent the class which alone the physician is usually able to bring forword, *i.e.*, the sexual inverts who are suffering from a more or less severe degree of complete nervous breakdown.

First Appearance of Homosexual Instinct.—Out of thirty-

three cases, in four the instinct veered round to the same sex in adult age; in three of these there had been a love-disappointment with a woman; no other cause than this can be assigned for the transition; but it is noteworthy that in at least two of these cases the sexual instinct is undeveloped or morbidly weak, while the third individual is of somewhat weak physique, and the fourth has long been in delicate health.

In the other twenty-nine cases the abnormal instinct began in early life, without previous attraction to the opposite sex. In eleven of these it dates from about puberty, usually beginning at school. In nineteen cases the tendency began before puberty, *i.e.*, in fourteen between the ages of 5 and 11, usually between 7 and 9; while in the other five the instinct began to manifest itself as early as the subject can remember. It must not be supposed that in these numerous cases of the early appearance of homosexuality, the manifestations were of a specifically physical character, although erections are noted in a few cases. For the most part sexual manifestations at this early age, whether homosexual or heterosexual, are purely psychic. Their general character may be judged from the two cases—one in a man, the other in a woman (XVIII and XXXI)—in which I have stated the evolution of the instinct in some detail.[1]

Sexual Precocity and Hyperæsthesia.—It is a fact of considerable interest and significance that in so large a

[1] In this connection I may quote an observation by Mr. Raffalovich: "It is natural that the invert should very clearly recall the precocity of his inclinations. In the existence of every invert a moment arrives when he discovers the enigma of his homosexual tastes. He then classes all his recollections, and to justify himself in his own eyes he remembers that he has been what he is from his earliest childhood. Homosexuality has coloured all his young life; he has thought over it, dreamed over it, reflected over it—very often in perfect innocence. When he was quite small he imagined that he had been carried off by brigands, by savages; at five or at six he dreamed of the warmth of their chests and of their naked arms. He dreamed that he was their slave and he loved his slavery and his masters. He has had not the least thought that is crudely sexual but he has discovered his sentimental vocation."

number of my cases there was distinct precocity of the sexual emotions. There can be little doubt that, as many previous observers have found, inversion tends strongly to be associated with sexual precocity. I think it may further be said that sexual precocity tends to encourage the inverted habit where it exists. Why this should be so is obvious, if we believe—as there is some reason for believing—that at an early age the sexual instinct is comparatively undifferentiated in its manifestations. The precocious accentuation of the sexual impulse leads to definite crystallisation of the emotions at a premature stage. It must be added that precocious sexual energy is likely to remain feeble, and that a feeble sexual energy adapts itself more easily to homosexual relationships, in which there is no definite act to be accomplished, than to normal relationships. It is difficult to say how many of my cases exhibit sexual weakness. In two or three it is evident, and it may be suspected in many others, especially in those who are, and often describe themselves as, "sensitive" or "nervous." In Case II there is well-marked hyperæsthesia, or irritable weakness. Hyperæsthesia simulates strength, and, while there can be little doubt that some sexual inverts do possess unusual sexual energy, in others it is but apparent; the frequent repetition of seminal emissions, for example, is more usually the result of weakness than of strength.[1] It must be added that this iritability of the sexual centres is, in a considerable proportion of inverts, associated with marked emotional tendencies to affection and self-sacrifice. In the extravagance of his affection and devotion, as has been frequently observed, the male invert frequently resembles the normal woman.

Suggestion and other Exciting Causes of Inversion.—In eleven of my cases—*i.e.*, in nearly one-third—there is reason to believe that some event, or special environment,

[1] A certain association between sexual weakness and homosexuality may be seen in the homosexual tendencies of old men who no longer possess the power of effecting normal coitus.

in early life had more or less influence in turning the sexual instinct into homosexual channels, or in calling out a latent inversion. In three cases a disappointment in normal love seems to have produced a profound nervous and emotional shock, acting, as we seem bound to admit, on a predisposed organism, and developing a fairly permanent tendency to inversion. In four cases there was seduction by an older person, but in at least one or two of these there was already a well-marked predisposition. In four other cases, example, usually at school, may probably be regarded as having exerted some influence. It is noteworthy that in very few of my cases can we trace the influence of any definite "suggestion", as asserted by Schrenck-Notzing, who believes that in the causation of sexual inversion (as undoubtedly in the causation of erotic fetichism), we must give the first place to "accidental factors of education and external influence". I have met with no case such as he records of a little boy who innocently gazed in curiosity at the penis of his father who was urinating, and had his ears boxed, whence arose a train of thought and feeling, which resulted in complete sexual inversion. I do not question the occurrence of such incidents, but considered as furnishing a complete account of the causation of inversion, I cannot help regarding them with a certain scepticism; and in so doing I am supported by all the evidence I am able to obtain. I am in agreement with Symonds who wrote:—

"Considering that all boys are exposed to the same order of suggestions (sight of a man's naked organs, sleeping with a man, being handled by a man), and that only a few of them become sexually perverted, I think it reasonable to conclude that those few were previousiy constituted to receive the suggestion. In fact, suggestion seems to play exactly the same part in the normal and abnormal awakening of sex."

I would go so far as to assert that for normal boys and girls the developed sexual organs of the adult man or woman—from their size, hairiness, and the mystery which envelopes them—nearly always exert a certain fascination, whether

of attraction or horror.[1] But this has no connection with homosexuality, and scarcely with sexuality at all. Thus in one case known to me, a boy of six or seven took pleasure in caressing the organs of another boy, twice his own age, who remained passive and indifferent; yet this child grew up without ever manifesting any homosexual instinct. The seed of suggestion can only develop when it falls on a suitable soil. If it is to act on a fairly normal nature the perverted suggestion must be very powerful or iterated, and even then its influence will probably only be temporary, disappearing in the presence of the normal stimulus.[2]

I have, therefore, but little to say of the influence of suggestion which has sometimes been exalted to a position of the first importance in books on sexual inversion. This is not because I underestimate the great part played by suggestion in many fields of normal and abnormal life.

[1] Leppmann mentions the case (certainly extreme and abnormal) of a little girl of eight who spent the night hidden on the roof, merely in order to be able to observe in the morning the sexual organs of an adult male cousin (*Bull. de l'Union Inter. de Droit Pénal*, 1896, p. 118).

[2] I may add that I see no fundamental irreconcilability between the point of view here adopted and the facts brought forward (and wrongly interpreted) by Schrenck-Notzing. In his *Beitrag zur Aetiologie der Conträrer Sexualempfindung* (Vienna, 1895), this writer states: "The neuropathic disposition is congenital, as is the tendency to precocious appearance of the appetites, the lack of psychic resistance and the tendency to imperative associations; but that heredity can extend to the object of the appetite, and influence the contents of these characters, is not shown. Psychological experiences are against it, and the possibility, which I have shown, of changing these impulses by experiment and so removing their danger to the character of the individual." It need not be asserted that "heredity extends to the object of the appetite", but simply that heredity culminates in an organism which is sexually best satisfied by that object. It is also a mistake to suppose that congenital characters cannot be in some cases largely modified by such patient and laborious processes as those carried on by Schrenck-Notzing. In the same pamphlet this writer refers to moral insanity and idiocy as supporting his point of view. It is curious that both these congenital manifestations had independently occurred to me as arguments against his position, The experiences of Elmira Reformatory and Bicêtre show that both the morally insane and the idiotic can be greatly improved by appropriate treatment. Schrenck-Notzing seems to be unduly biassed by his interest in hypnotism and suggestion.

It is because I have been able to find but few decided traces of it in sexual inversion. In many cases, doubtless, there may be some slight elements of suggestion in developing the inversion, though they cannot be traced.[1] Their importance seems usually questionable even when they are discovered. Take Schrenck-Notzing's case of the little boy whose ears were boxed for what his father considered improper curiosity. I find it difficult to realise that a mighty suggestion can thereby be generated unless a strong emotion exists for it to unite with; in that case the seed falls on prepared soil. Is the wide prevalence of normal sexuality due to the fact that so many little boys have had their ears boxed for taking naughty liberties with women? If so, I am quite prepared to accept Schrenck-Notzing's explanation as a complete account of the matter. I know of one case, indeed, in which an element of what may fairly be called suggestion can be detected. It is that of a physician who had always been on very friendly terms with men, but had sexual relations exclusively with women, finding fair satisfaction, until the confessions of an inverted patient one day came to him as a revelation; thereafter he adopted inverted practices and ceased to find any attraction in women. But even in this case, as I understand the matter, suggestion merely served to reveal his own nature to the man. For a physician to adopt the perverted habits which the visit of a chance patient suggests to him can scarcely be a phenomenon of pure suggestion. We have no reason to suppose that this physician practised every perversion he heard of from patients; he adopted that which fitted his own nature.

I may here quote three American cases (not previously

[1] I fully admit, as all investigators must, the difficulty of tracing the influence of early suggestions, especially in dealing with persons who are unaccustomed to self-analysis. Sometimes it happens, especially in regard to erotic fetichism, that, while direct questioning fails to reach any early formative suggestion, such influence is casually elicited on a subsequent occasion.

published), for which I am indebted to the kindness of Prof. G. Frank Lydston, of Chicago. They seem to me to illustrate the only kind of suggestion which does play a common part in the evolution of inversion. I give them in Dr. Lydston's words:

Case I.—A man 45 years of age, attracted by the allusion to my essay on Social Perversion contained in the English translation of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*, consulted me regarding the possible cure of his condition. This individual was a finely-educated, very intelligent man, who was an excellent linguist, had considerable musical ability, and was in the employ of a firm whose business was such as to demand on the part of its employees considerable legal acumen, clerical ability, and knowledge of real estate transactions. This man stated that at the age of puberty, without any knowledge of perversity of sexual feeling, he was thrown intimately in contact with males of more advanced years, who took various means to excite his sexual passions, the result being that perverted sexual practices were developed, which were continued for a number of years. He thereafter noticed an aversion to women. At the solicitations of his family he finally married, without any very intelligent idea as to what, if anything, might be expected of him in the marital relation. Absolute impotence—indeed, repugnance for association with his wife—was the lamentable sequence. A divorce was in contemplation when, fortunately for all parties concerned, the wife suddenly died. Being a man of more than ordinary intelligence, this individual, prior to seeking my aid, had sought vainly for some remedy for his unfortunate condition. He stated that he believed that there was an element of heredity in his case, his father having been a dipsomaniac and one brother having died insane. He nevertheless stated it to be his opinion that, notwithstanding the hereditary taint, he would have been perfectly normal from a sexual standpoint, had it not been for acquired impressions at or about the period of puberty. This man presented a typically neurotic type of physique, complained of being intensely nervous, was prematurely grey, of only fair stature, and had an uncontrollable nystagmus, which, he said, had existed for some fifteen years. As might be expected, treatment in this case was of no avail. I began the use of hypnotic suggestion at the hands of an expert professional hypnotist. The patient, being called out of the State, finally gave up treatment, and I have no means of knowing what his present condition is.

Case II.—A lady patient of mine who happened to be an actress, and consequently a woman of the world, brought to me for an

opinion some correspondence which had passed between her younger brother and a man living in another State, with whom he was on quite intimate terms. In one of these letters various flying trips to Chicago for the purpose of meeting the lad, who, by the way, was only seventeen years of age, were alluded to. It transpired also, as evidenced by the letters, that on several occasions the young lad had been taken on trips in Pullman cars by his friend, who was a prominent railroad official. The character of the correspondence was such as the average healthy man would address to a woman with whom he was enamoured. It seemed that the author of the correspondence had applied to his boy affinity the name Cinderella, and the protestations of passionate affection that were made towards Cinderella certainly would have satisfied the most exacting woman. The young lad subsequently made a confession to me, and I put myself in correspondence with his male friend, with the result that he called upon me and I obtained a full history of the case. The method of indulgence in this case was the usual one of oral masturbation, in which the lad was the passive party. I was unable to obtain any definite data regarding the family history of the elder individual in this case, but understand that there was a taint of insanity in his family. He himself was a robust, fine-looking man, above middle age, who was well educated and very intelligent, as he necessarily must have been, because of the prominent position he held with an important railway company. I will state, as a matter of interest, that the lad in this case, who is now twenty-three years of age, has recently consulted me for *impotentia cœundi*, manifesting a frigidity for women, and, from the young man's statements, I am convinced that he is well on the road to confirmed sexual perversion.

An interesting point in this connection is that the young man's sister, the actress already alluded to, has recently had an attack of acute mania.

I have had other unpublished cases that might be of interest, but these two are somewhat classical, and typify to a greater or less degree the majority of other cases. I will, however, mention one other case, occurring in a woman.

Case III.—A married woman, 40 years of age. Has been deserted by her husband because of her perverted sexuality. Neurotic history on both sides of the family, and several cases of insanity on mother's side. In this case affinity for the same sex and perverted desire for the opposite sex existed, a combination by no means infrequent. Hypnotic suggestion tried, but without success. Cause was evidently suggestion and example on the part of another female pervert with whom she associated before marriage. Marriage was late—at age of 35.

In all these cases there was an element of what may be called suggestion, but it was really much more than this; it was probably in each case active seduction by an elder person of a predisposed younger person. It will be observed that in each case there was, at the least, an organic neurotic basis for suggestion and seduction to work on. I cannot regard these cases as entitled to modify the attitude I have here taken up.

Masturbation.—Moreau believed that masturbation was a cause of sexual inversion, and Krafft-Ebing looks upon it as leading to all sorts of sexual perversions. Dr. Conolly Norman is of the same opinion; Moll emphatically denies that masturbation can be the cause of inversion, though admitting that it may serve to strengthen it when already existing. J. A. Symonds, who made special inquiries on this point, was of the same opinion. That masturbation, especially at an early age, may enfeeble the sexual activities, and so predispose them to inversion, I certainly believe. But beyond this there is little in the history of my male cases to lead me to attach importance to masturbation as a cause of inversion. It is true that eighteen out of twenty-three admit that they have practised masturbation—at all events occasionally or at some period in their lives—and it is probable that this proportion is larger than that found among normal people. Even if so, however, it is not difficult to account for, bearing in mind the fact that the homosexual person has not the same opportunities as has the heterosexual person to gratify his instincts, and that masturbation may sometimes legitimately appear to him as the lesser of two evils. Not only has masturbation been practised at no period in at least five of the cases (for concerning several I have no information), but in two others it was never practised until long after the homosexual instinct had appeared, and then only occasionally. In five it was only practised at puberty; in three, however, it began before the age of puberty; nine left off before about the age of twenty. Unfortunately, as yet, we have no definite evidence as to the

prevalence and extent of masturbation among normal individuals.

Among the women there appears to be no reason whatever to connect the existence of masturbation, when its presence can be traced, with the inverted impulse. In one case there was no masturbation until comparatively late in life, and then only at rare intervals and under exceptional circumstances. In another case, some years after the homosexual attraction had been experienced, it was practised, though not in excess, from the age of puberty for about four years, and then abandoned; during these years the physical sexual feelings were more imperative than they were afterwards felt to be. In both these cases the subjects are emphatic in asserting that this practice neither led to, nor was caused by, the homosexual attraction, which they regard as a much higher feeling. It must be added that a similar occasional practice of masturbation is very far from rare among fairly normal women.[1]

Attitude Towards the Opposite Sex.—In five cases (of whom two are married) there is sexual attraction to both sexes, a condition usually called psychosexual hermaphroditism. In such cases, although there is pleasure and satisfaction in relationships with both sexes, there is usually a greater degree of satisfaction in connection with one sex. Most of my psychosexual hermaphrodites prefer their own sex. It is curiously rare to find a person, whether man or woman, who by choice exercises relationships with both sexes and prefers the opposite sex.

Psychosexual hermaphroditism merges imperceptibly into simple inversion. In ten of twenty-three cases of simple inversion in men there has been connection with women, in some instances only once or twice, in others during several years, but it was always with an effort or from a sense of duty and anxiety to be normal; they

[1] I do not here enter upon the consideration of the normal prevalence and significance of masturbation and allied phenomena, as I propose shortly to deal with this subject elsewhere.

never experienced any real pleasure in the act, or sense of satisfaction after it. Two of these cases are married, but in both cases marital relationships entirely ceased after a few years. Two other cases were attracted to women when younger, but are not now; another once felt sexually attracted to a boyish woman, but never made any attempt to obtain any relationships with her; another, again, has tried to have connection with women, but failed. The largest proportion of my cases have never had any sexual intimacy with the opposite sex, but experience what, in the case of the male invert, is sometimes called *horror feminæ*. But, while woman as an object of sexual desire is disgusting to them, and it is usually difficult for a genuine invert to have connection with a woman except by setting up images of his own sex, for the most part they are capable of genuine friendships, irrespective of sex.

It is perhaps not difficult to account for the horror—much stronger than that normally felt towards a person of the same sex—with which the invert often regards the sexual organs of persons of the opposite sex. It cannot be said that the sexual organs of either sex under the influence of sexual excitement are æsthetically desirable; they only become emotionally desirable through the parallel excitement of the beholder. When the absence of parallel excitement is accompanied in the beholder by the sense of unfamiliarity, all the conditions are present for the production of intense *horror feminæ* or *horror masculis* as the case may be.

Erotic Dreams.—Our dreams follow, as a general rule, the same impulses that stir our waking psychic life. The normal man in sexual vigour dreams of loving a woman, the inverted man dreams of loving a man, the inverted woman of loving a woman. There are a few exceptions,[1] and these are generally explicable by the subject's past or present experiences. In one of the cases (XVIII) I have brought forward, the evolution and varying character of

[1] Näcke and Colin Scott independently refer to cases in which normal subjects are liable to inverted dreams.

the erotic dreams is recorded in some detail; in this case they began in a rudimentary form at the very early age of eight. Of my cases, only two state that there are no erotic dreams, while twenty-one acknowledge that the dreams are concerned more or less with persons of the same sex. Of these, fourteen assert or imply that their dreams are exclusively of the same sex. Two (X and XI), though apparently inverted congenitally, have had erotic dreams of women, in the case of X more frequently than of men; these two exceptions have no apparent explanation. In one other case (XII) there were always at first dreams of women, but this subject had sometimes had connection with prostitutes and is not absolutely indifferent to women. In the cases of distinct psychosexual hermaphroditism there is no unanimity: one dreams of his own sex, another dreams of both sexes, one usually dreams of the opposite sex, and one man, while dreaming of both, dislikes those dreams in which women figure.

It may be added that, as Moll has pointed out, the vividness with which the inverted instinct usually displays itself in dreams has some value in diagnosis when we are not quite sure how far the inverted tendency is radical. There is usually less unwillingness to confess to a perverted dream than to a perverted action.

Methods of Sexual Relationship.—The exact mode in which an inverted instinct finds satisfaction is frequently of importance from the medico-legal standpoint; from a psychological standpoint it is of minor significance, being chiefly of interest as showing the degree to which the individual has departed from the instinctive feelings of his normal fellow beings.

Taking the twenty-four inverted men of whom I have definite knowledge, I find that three, restrained by moral and other considerations, have never had any physical relationship with their own sex. In eight or nine cases the sexual relationship rarely goes beyond close physical contact, or at most mutual masturbation. In two or three

cases *fellatio* is the form preferred. In thirteen cases, *i.e.*, more than half, actual *pædicatio*—usually active, not passive—has been exercised. In all these cases, however, *pædicatio* is by no means the habitual or even the preferred method of gratification. It seems to be the preferred method in about six cases. The proportion of pæderasts in this group of sexual inverts is larger than I should have been inclined to expect; whether a wider induction of cases would modify the result I cannot say.

Pseudo-sexual Attraction.—It is sometimes supposed that in homosexual relationships one person is always active, physically and emotionally, the other passive. Between men, at all events, this is very frequently not the case, and the invert cannot tell if he feels like a man or like a woman. Thus, one writes:—

"In bed with my friend I feel as he feels, and he feels as I feel. The result is masturbation, and nothing more or desire for more on my part. I get it over, too, as soon as possible, in order to come to the best—sleeping arms round each other, or talking so."

It remains true, however, that there may usually be traced what it is possible to call pseudo-sexual attraction, by which I mean a tendency for the invert to be attracted towards persons unlike himself, so that in his sexual relationships there is a certain semblance of sexual opposition. Inverts are not usually attracted to one another, although there are numerous exceptions to this rule among inverted men, perhaps fewer among inverted women. In at least fifteen—probably many more—of my male cases there is a marked contrast between the subject and the individuals he is attracted to: either he is of somewhat feminine and sensitive nature, and admires more simple and virile natures, or he is fairly vigorous and admires boys, who are often of lower social class. Inverted women also are attracted to more clinging feminine persons.[1] A

[1] "Men," remarks Q., "tend to fall in love with boys or youths, boys or youths with grown men, feminine natures with virile natures and *vice versâ*, cultured natures with uneducated and *vice versâ*, and different races with each other".

sexual attraction for boys is no doubt, as Moll points out, that form of inversion which comes nearest to normal sexuality, for the subject of it usually approaches nearer to the average man in physical and mental disposition. The reason of this is obvious: boys resemble women, and therefore it requires a less profound organic twist to become sexually attracted to them. Anyone who has watched private theatricals in boys' schools will have observed how easy it is for boys to personate women successfully, and it is well known that until the middle of the seventeenth century women's parts on the stage were always taken by boys—whether with injury to their own or other people's morals I do not know. It is also worthy of note that in Greece, where homosexuality flourished so extensively, and apparently with so little accompaniment of neurotic degeneration, it was often held that only boys under 18 should be loved, so that the love of boys merged into the love of women. Only six of my cases are most strongly attracted to youths—preferably of about the age of 18 to 20—and they are among the more normal and healthy of the cases. A preference for older men, or else a considerable degree of indifference to age alone, is far more common, and indicates a deeper degree of perversion.

Putting aside the age of the object desired, it must be said that there is a distinctly general, though not universal, tendency for sexual inverts to approach the feminine type, either in psychic disposition or physical constitution, or both. I cannot say how far this is explained by the irritable nervous system and delicate health which are so often associated with inversion, though this is certainly an important factor. Although the invert himself may stoutly affirm his masculinity, and although this feminity may not be very obvious, its wide prevalence may be asserted with considerable assurance, and by no means only among the small minority of inverts who take an exclusively passive *rôle*, though in these it is usually most marked. In this I am confirmed by Q., who writes: "In all, or certainly

almost all, the cases of congenital male inverts (excluding psychosexual hermaphrodites) that I know, there has been a remarkable sensitiveness and delicacy of sentiment, sympathy, and an intuitive habit of mind, such as we generally associate with the feminine sex, even though the body might be quite masculine in its form and habit." And a distinguished invert said to Moll, "We are all women; that we do not deny."[1]

In inverted women a certain subtle masculinity or boyishness is equally prevalent, and it is not found in the woman to whom they are attracted. Even in inversion the imperative need for a certain sexual opposition—the longing for something which the lover himself does not possess—still rules in full force. It expresses itself sometimes in an attraction between persons of different race and colour. I am told that in American prisons for women Lesbian relationships are specially frequent be-

[1] "The majority [of inverts]," wrote Symonds, "differ in no detail of their outward appearance, their physique, or their dress, from normal men. They are athletic, masculine in habit, frank in manner, passing through society year after year without arousing a suspicion of their inner temperament; were it not so society would long ago have had its eyes opened to the amount of perverted sexuality it harbours". These lines were written, not in opposition to the somewhat subtle distinctions pointed out above, but in refutation of the vulgar error which confuses the typical invert with the painted and petticoated creatures who appear in police courts from time to time, and whose portraits are presented by Lombroso, Legludic, and others. On another occasion Symonds wrote, while expressing general agreement with the idea of a pseudo-sexual attraction: "The *liaison* is by no means always sought and begun by the person who is abnormally constituted. I mean that I can cite cases of decided males who have made up to inverts, and have found their happiness in the reciprocated passion. One pronounced male of this sort (a Venetian) said to me, 'men are so much more affectionate than women.' [Precisely the same words were used by one of my subjects.] Also, the *liaison* springs up now and then quite accidentally through juxtaposition, when it is difficult to say whether either at the outset had an inverted tendency of any marked quality. In these cases the sexual relation seems to come on as a heightening of comradely affection, and is found to be pleasurable—sometimes, I think, discovered to be safe as well as satisfying. On the other hand, so far as I know, it is extremely rare to observe a permanent *liaison* between two pronounced inverts."

tween white and black women. And Dr. Kiernan informs me that "of the three murders from perverted sexual jealousy by women in the United States in two decades, one was a negress's; and of four similar attempts to kill, two were [? by] negresses". A similar affinity is found among the Arabs, says Kocher, and if an Arab woman has a Lesbian friend the latter is usually European. In Cochin-China, too, according to Lorion, while the Chinese are chiefly active pæderasts, the Annamites are chiefly passive.

In this connection I may refer to the strong attraction which is even normally exerted by people of a different social class from the subject, and also, on many individuals, by uniforms.

Physical Abnormalities.—The circumstances under which my cases were investigated usually rendered information under this head difficult to obtain. In one case the penis is very large, while in two others it is distinctly undeveloped, and the testicles small and flabby. It seems probable that both these deviations are fairly frequent, especially in the direction of incomplete development.

Perhaps the most interesting physical abnormality observed in my cases is the fairly well-marked gynecomasty in Case XXII. In this case the breasts swelled and became red; a similar condition of gynecomasty has been observed in connection with inversion by Moll, Laurent and Wey.

My observations on women are too few to permit of any assured result, but I am distinctly of opinion that undeveloped sexual organs are frequent among inverted women. Putting together nine cases by various observers (including two original observations) in which attention was paid to the sexual parts, only four were normal; the other five were all, more or less, undeveloped.

A tendency to defect of anatomical sexual development is known to be correlated with a general tendency to what is termed infantilism, and also to feminism and masculism. I am much impressed by the frequency with which the

signs of infantilism in the general bodily structure occur in inverts.[1]

It seems to me, on a review of all the facts that have have come under my observation, that while there is no necessary connection between infantilism, feminism, and masculism, physical and psychic, on the one hand, and sexual inversion on the other, yet that there is a distinct tendency for the signs of the former group of abnormalities to occur with unusual frequency in inverts, and while I am not in a position to bring forward a sufficient body of evidence in support of this opinion, I have little doubt that it will be forthcoming in the future.[2]

If we are justified in believing that there is a tendency for inverted persons to be somewhat arrested in development, approaching the child type, we may connect this fact with the marked sexual precocity of inverts, for precocity is commonly accompanied by rapid arrest of development.

[1] For an enumeration and study of those signs see an able and well-illustrated series of papers (which do not touch on the present question) by H. Meige, "L'Infantilisme, le Féminisme, et les Hermaphrodites Antiques," *L'Anthropologie*, 1895. In the *Post-Graduate* (edited by Dr. Dana, New York), for January, 1896, there are also photographs of two men (four views of face and body of each), who earned their living, one as a lady's maid, the other as a female cook. these photographs are well worth study, though unaccompanied by histories.

[2] It is curious to find a medico-legal record of this connection long before inversion was recognised. In June, 1833 (see, for example, *Annual Register* under this date), a man died who had lived as a kept woman under the name of Eliza Edwards. He was very effeminate in appearance, with beautiful hair, in ringlets two feet long, and a cracked voice; he played female parts in the theatre "in the first line of tragedy," and "appeared as a most lady-like woman." The coroner's jury "strongly recommended to the proper authorities that some means may be adopted in the disposal of the body which will mark the ignominy of the crime."

Krafft-Ebing (*Psychopathia Sexualis*, 8th edition, p. 263) tells of an inverted physician (a man of masculine development and tastes) who had had sexual relations with 600 more or less inverted men. He observed no tendency to sexual malformation among them, but very frequently an approximation to a feminine form of body, as well as insufficient hair, delicate complexion, and high voice. Well developed breasts were not rare, and some 10 per cent. showed a taste for feminine occupations.

Artistic and other Aptitudes.—An examination of my cases reveals the interesting fact that twenty-four, or 66 per cent., possess artistic aptitude in varying degree. Galton found from the investigation of nearly 1,000 persons that the average showing artistic tastes in this country is only about 30 per cent. It must also be said that my figures are probably below the truth, as no special point was made of investigating the matter, and also that in many of my cases the artistic aptitudes are of high order. A taste for music is widespread among them. Three belong to the dramatic profession, and at least two others have had marked dramatic ability from childhood. On the other hand, a decided taste for physical science is scarcely once to be found amongst them, though three happen to be medical men.

The tendency to dramatic aptitude among sexual inverts—well illustrated, it will be seen, in my cases—has attracted the attention of previous investigators in this field. Thus Moll refers to the frequency of artistic, and especially dramatic, talent among inverts,[1] and remarks that the cause is doubtful. After pointing out that the lie which they have to be perpetually living renders inverts always actors, he goes on to say:—

"Apart from this, it seems to me that the capacity and the inclination to conceive situations and to represent them in a masterly manner corresponds to an abnormal predisposition of the nervous system, just as does sexual inversion, so that both phenomena are due to the same source."

I am in agreement with this statement; the congenitally inverted may, I believe, be looked upon as a class of individuals exhibiting nervous characters which to some extent approximate them to persons of artistic genius. The dramatic and artistic aptitudes of inverts are, therefore, partly due to the circumstances of the invert's life, which render him necessarily an actor—and in

[1] Kurella also mentions that he knew an invert who was an amateur actor, and specially successful in parts which revealed an unhinged mind.

some few cases lead him into a love of deception comparable with that of a hysterical woman—and partly, it is probable, to a congenital nervous predisposition allied to the predisposition to inversion.[1]

In this connection I may, perhaps, mention a moral quality which is very often associated with dramatic aptitude, and also with minor degrees of nervous degeneration, and that is vanity and the love of applause. While among a considerable section of inverts it is not more

[1] Symonds's attention had long been struck by the frequency of inversion among actors and actresses. He knew an inverted actor who told him he adopted the profession because it would enable him to indulge his proclivity; but on the whole he regarded this tendency as due to "hitherto unconsidered imaginative flexibilities and curiosities in the individual. The actor, *ex hypothesi*, is one who works himself by sympathy (intellectual and emotional) into states of psychological being that are not his own. He learns to comprehend—nay, to live himself into—relations which were originally alien to his nature. The capacity for doing this—what makes a born actor—implies a faculty for extending his artistically acquired experience into life. In the process of his trade, therefore, he becomes at all points sensitive to human emotions, and, sexuality being the most intellectually undetermined of the appetites after hunger, the actor might discover in himself a sort of sexual indifference, out of which a sexual aberration could easily arise. A man devoid of this imaginative flexibility could not be a successful actor. The man who possesses it would be exposed to divagations of the sexual instinct under æsthetical or merely wanton influences.

"Something of the same kind is applicable to musicians and artists, in whom sexual inversion prevails beyond the average. They are conditioned by their æsthetical faculty, and encouraged by the circumstances of their life to feel and express the whole gamut of emotional experience. Thus they get an environment which (unless they are sharply otherwise differentiated) leads easily to experiments in passion. All this joins on to what you call the 'variational diathesis' of men of genius. But I should seek the explanation of the phenomenon less in the original sexual constitution than in the exercise of sympathetic, assimilative emotional qualities, powerfully stimulated and acted on by the conditions of the individual's life. The artist, the singer, the actor, the painter, are more exposed to the influences out of which sexual differentiation in an abnormal direction may arise. Some persons are certainly made abnormal by nature, others, of this sympathetic artistic temperament, may become so through their sympathies plus their conditions of life." It is possible there may be some element of truth in this view, which Symonds acknowledged to be purely hypothetical.

marked than among the non-inverted, if not, indeed, less marked, among another section it is found in an exaggerated degree. In Case XXVII vanity and delight in admiration, both as regards personal qualities and artistic productions, reach an almost morbid extent. And the quotations from letters written by various others of my subjects show a curious complacency in the description of their personal physical characters, markedly absent in other cases.[1]

Certain peculiarities in taste as regards costume have rightly or wrongly been attributed to inverts—apart from the tendency of a certain group to adopt feminine habits —and may here be mentioned. Tardieu many years ago referred to the taste for keeping the neck uncovered. This peculiarity may certainly be observed among a considerable proportion of inverts, especially the more artistic among them. The cause does not appear to be precisely vanity so much as that physical consciousness which is so curiously marked in inverts, and induces the more feminine amongst them to cultivate feminine grace of form, and the more masculine to emphasise the masculine athletic habit.

It has also been remarked that inverts exhibit a prefer-

[1] The most marked preoccupation with personal beauty which I have seen recorded of an invert occurs in the history of himself written by a young Italian of good family, and sent by him to M. Zola in the hope—itself a sign of vanity—that the distinguished novelist would make it the subject of one of his works. The history is reproduced in the *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, (1894) from which I quote;—"At the age of 18 I was, with few differences, what I am now (at 23). I am rather below the medium height (1m. 65), well proportioned, slender but not lean. My torso is superb; a sculptor could find nothing against it, and would not find it very different from that of Antinoüs. My back is very arched (*cambré*), perhaps too much so, and my hips are very developed; my pelvis is broad, like a woman's, my knees slightly approximate; my feet are small, my hands superb, the fingers curved back and with glistening nails, rosy and polished, cut squarely like those of ancient statues. My neck is long and round, the nape charmingly adorned with downy hairs. My head is charming, and at 18 was more so. The oval of it is perfect, and strikes all by its infantine form. At 23 I am to be taken for 17 at most. My complexion is white and rosy, deepening at the faintest emotion. The

ence for green garments. In Rome *cinædi* were for this reason called *galbanati*. Chevalier remarks that some years ago a band of pæderasts at Paris wore green cravats as a badge.

Moral Attitude of the Invert.—There is some interest in tracing the invert's own attitude towards his anomaly, and his estimate of its morality. As my cases are not patients seeking to be cured of their perversion, this attitude cannot be taken for granted. I have noted the moral attitude in twenty-nine cases. In three the subjects loathe themselves, and have fought in vain against their perversion. Six or seven are doubtful, and have little to say in justification of their condition, which they regard as perhaps morbid. The remainder, a large majority (including all the women) are, on the other hand, emphatic in their assertion that their moral position is precisely the same as that of the normally constituted individual; one or two even regard inverted love as nobler than ordinary sexual love; a few add the proviso that there should be consent and understanding on both sides, and no attempt at seduction. The chief regret of one or two is the double life they are obliged to lead.

It will be seen that my conclusions under this head are

forehead is not beautiful, it recedes slightly and is hollow at the temples, but, fortunately, it is half covered by long hair, of a dark blonde, which curls naturally. The head is perfect in form because of the curly hair, but on examination there is an enormous protuberance at the occiput. My eyes are oval, of a grey blue, with dark chesnut eyelashes and thick, arched eyebrows. My eyes are very liquid, but with dark circles, and bistred; and they are subject to slight temporary inflammation. My mouth is fairly large, with thick red lips, the lower pendant; they tell me I have the Austrian mouth. My teeth are dazzling, though three are decayed and stopped; fortunately, they cannot be seen. My ears are small and with very coloured lobes. My chin is very fat, and at 18 it was smooth and velvety as a woman's; at present there is a slight beard, always shaved. Two beauty spots, black and velvety, on my left cheek, contrast with my blue eyes. My nose is thin and straight, with delicate nostrils and a slight, almost insensible curve. My voice is gentle, and people always regret that I have not learnt to sing." This description is noteworthy as a detailed portrait of a sexual invert of a certain type; the whole history is interesting and instructive.

in striking contrast to those of Westphal, who believed that every invert regarded himself as morbid, and probably show a much higher proportion of self-approving inverts than any previous series. This is due partly to the way in which the cases were obtained, and partly to the fact that they may be said, on the whole, to represent the intellectual aristocracy of inversion, including a large number of individuals who, often not without severe struggles, have found consolation in the example of the Greeks, or elsewhere, and have succeeded in attaining a *modus vivendi* with the moral world, as they have come to conceive it.[1]

[1] It cannot be said of my cases, as it has been said of some—though without any definite evidence being brought forward—that their views of themselves have been modeled on Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* and similar works. Apart from the fact that such books were until quite lately unknown in England, if, indeed, they can yet be said to be known, the attitude of the individuals whose cases I have brought forward has very little in common with the self-pitying attitude of inverts who are anxious for medical treatment. It is, on the whole, better expressed by the stanzas written by one of my subjects—a man of social and literary distinction, temperate, moderate, and self-respecting, who treats his perversion in the same way as well-bred people treat their normal propensities—after a friend had striven to interest him in the scientific aspects of this subject :—

UNISEXUALIS CUJUSDAM RESPONSIO.

I love my friend, and he loves me:
A better pair could never be;
And yet you say that I am mad,
Or else you swear that I am bad;
And all because I am not you!
Krafft-Ebing, or Tarnowsky, or Tardieu!

Were you like me, I think you'd find
How sound, how sane, how good, how kind
This love of man for man may be,
In spite of all your theory;
But since you're not, I'd not be you!
Krafft-Ebing, or Tarnowsky, or Tardieu!

And yet I hope some kindly Moll
Will solve your problem once for all,
And prove me neither mad nor bad;
Only, sometimes, exceeding glad
To be what is condemned by you,
Krafft-Ebing, or Tarnowsky, or Tardieu!

CHAPTER VI.

THE THEORY OF SEXUAL INVERSION.

What is Sexual Inversion?—Causes of Diverging Views—The Theory of Suggestion Unworkable—Importance of the Congenital Element in Inversion—The Theory of the Female Soul—Embryonic Hermaphroditism as a Key to Inversion—Inversion as a Variation or "Sport"—Comparison with Colour-Blindness, Coloured-Hearing, and Similar Abnormalities—What is an Abnormality?—Not necessarily a Disease—Relation of Inversion to Degeneration—Exciting Causes of Inversion—Seldom Operative in the Absence of Predisposition.

THE analysis of these cases leads directly up to a question of the first importance: What is sexual inversion? Is it, as many would have us believe, an abominable acquired vice, to be stamped out by the prison? or is it, as a few assert, a beneficial variety of human emotion which should be tolerated or even fostered? Is it a diseased condition which qualifies its subject for the lunatic asylum? or is it a natural monstrosity, a human "sport," the manifestations of which must be regulated when they become anti-social? There is probably an element of truth in more than one of these views. I am prepared to admit that very widely divergent views of sexual inversion are largely justified by the position and attitude of the investigator. It is natural that the police official should find that his cases are largely mere examples of disgusting vice and crime. It is natural that the asylum superintendent should find that we are chiefly dealing with a form of insanity. It is equally natural that the sexual invert himself should find that he and his inverted friends are not so very unlike ordinary persons. We have to recognise the influence of

professional and personal bias and the influence of environment, one investigator basing his conclusions on one class of cases, another on a quite different class of cases. Naturally, I have largely founded my own conclusions on my own cases. I believe, however, that my cases and my attitude towards them justify me in doing this with some confidence. I am not in the position of one who is pleading *pro domo*, nor of the police official, nor even of the physician, for these persons have not come to me for treatment. I approach the matter as a psychologist who has ascertained certain definite facts, and who is founding his conclusions on those facts.

The first point which impresses me is that we must regard sexual inversion as largely a congenital phenomenon, or, to speak more accurately, as a phenomenon which is based on congenital conditions. This, I think, lies at the root of the right comprehension of the matter. There are at the present day two streams of tendency in the views regarding sexual inversion: one seeking to enlarge the sphere of the acquired (represented by Binet—who, however, recognises predisposition—Schrenck-Notzing, and others), the other seeking to enlarge the sphere of the congenital (represented by Krafft-Ebing, Moll, and others).[1] There is, as usually happens, truth in both these views. But inasmuch as those who represent the acquired view often emphatically deny any congenital element, I think we are specially called upon to emphasise this congenital element. The view that sexual inversion is entirely explained by the influence of early association, or of "suggestion," is an attractive one, and at first sight it seems to be supported by what we know of erotic fetichism, by which a woman's hair, or foot, or even clothing, becomes the focus of a man's sexual aspirations. But t must be remembered that what we see in erotic fetichism is merely the exaggeration of a normal impulse; every

[1] A summary of the chief theories of sexual inversion will be found in Dr. P. Penta, "L'Origene e la Patogenesi della Inversione Sessuale," *Archivio delle Psicopatie Sessuali*, 1896, fasc. 4-5.

lover is to some extent excited by his mistress's hair, or foot, or clothing; even here, therefore, there is really what may fairly be regarded as a congenital element; and, moreover, there is reason to believe that the erotic fetichist usually displays the further congenital element of hereditary neurosis. Therefore, the analogy with erotic fetichism, does not bring much help to those who argue that inversion is purely acquired. It must also be pointed out that the argument for acquired or suggested inversion logically involves the assertion that normal sexuality is also acquired or suggested. If a man becomes attracted to his own sex simply because the fact or the image of such attraction is brought before him, then we are bound to believe that a man becomes attracted to the opposite sex only because the fact or the image of such attraction is brought before him. This theory is wholly unworkable. In nearly every country of the world men associate with men, and women with women; if association and suggestion were the only influential causes, then inversion, instead of being the exception, ought to be the rule throughout the human species, if not, indeed, throughout the whole zoological series. We should, moreover, have to admit that the most fundamental human instinct is so constituted as to be equally well adapted for sterility as for that propagation of the race which, as a matter of fact, we find dominant throughout the whole of life. We must, therefore, put aside entirely the notion that the direction of sexual impulse is merely a suggested phenomenon; such a notion is entirely opposed to observation and experience, and will with difficulty fit into a rational biological scheme.

The rational way of regarding the normal sexual impulse is as an inborn organic impulse, developing about the time of puberty.[1] At this period suggestion and

[1] It is denied by some (Meynert, Näcke, etc.) that there is any sexual *instinct* at all. I may as well, therefore, explain in what sense I use the word. I mean an inherited aptitude the performance of which normally demands for its full satisfaction the presence of a person of the opposite

association may come in to play a part in defining the object of the emotion; the soil is now ready, but the variety of seeds likely to thrive in it is limited. That there is a greater indefiniteness in the aim of the sexual impulse at this period we may well believe. This is shown not only by occasional tentative signs of sexual emotion directed towards the same sex, but by the usually vague and non-sexual character of the normal passion at puberty. But the channel of sexual emotion is not thereby turned into an utterly abnormal path. Whenever this permanently happens we are, I think, bound to believe—and we have many grounds for believing—that we are dealing with an organism which from the beginning is abnormal.[1] The same seed of suggestion is sown in various soils; in the many it dies out, in the few it flourishes. The cause can only be a difference in the soil.

If, then, we must postulate a congenital abnormality in order to account satisfactorily for at least a large proportion of sexual inverts, wherein does that abnormality consist? Ulrichs explained the matter by saying that in sexual inverts a male body coexists with a female soul: *anima maliebris in corpore virili inclusa.* Even writers with some pretension to scientific precision, like Magnan and Gley, have adopted this phrase in a modified form,

sex. It might be asserted that there is no such thing as an instinct for food, that it is all imitation, etc. In a sense this is true, but the automatic basis remains. A chicken from an incubator needs no hen to teach it to eat. It seems to discover eating and drinking as it were by chance, at first eating awkwardly and eating everything, until it learns what will best satisfy its organic mechanism. There is no instinct for food, it may be, but there is an instinct which is only satisfied by food. It is the same with the "sexual instinct". The tentative and omnivorous habits of the newly-hatched chicken may be compared to the uncertainty of the sexual instinct at puberty; while the sexual pervert is like a chicken that should carry on into adult age an appetite for worsted and paper.

[1] This remains true even when homosexuality is acquired in adult age. In the notorious case of Oscar Wilde it was apparently acquired late, but there can be no doubt whatever as to the existence of the congenital basis of abnormality. See Raffalovich's account of this case, *L'Uranisme*, pp. 241, *et. seq.*

considering that in inversion a female brain is combined with a male body or male glands. This is, however, not an explanation. It merely crystallises into an epigram the superficial impression of the matter. As an explanation it is to a scientific psychologist unthinkable. We only know soul as manifested through body; and, although if we say that a person seems to have the body of a man and the feelings of a woman we are saying what is often true enough, it is quite another matter to assert dogmatically that a female soul, or even a female brain, is expressing itself through a male body. That is simply unintelligible. I say nothing of the fact that in male inverts the feminine psychic tendencies may be little if at all marked, so that there is no "feminine soul" in the question; nor of the further important fact that in a very large proportion of cases the body itself presents primary and secondary sexual characters that are distinctly modified.

We can probably grasp the nature of the abnormality better if we reflect on the development of the sexes and on the latent organic bi-sexuality in each sex. At an early stage of development the sexes are indistinguishable, and throughout life the traces of this early community of sex remain. The hen fowl retains in a rudimentary form the spurs which are so large and formidable in her lord, and sometimes she develops a capacity to crow, or puts on male plumage. Among mammals the male posseses useless nipples, which occasionally even develop into breasts, and the female possesses a clitoris, which is merely a rudimentary penis, and may also develop. The sexually inverted person does not usually possess any gross exaggeration of these signs of community with the opposite sex. But, as we have seen, there are a considerable number of more subtle approximations to the opposite sex in inverted persons, both on the physical and the psychic side. Putting the matter in a purely speculative shape, it may be said that at conception the organism is provided with about 50 per cent. of male germs and about 50 per cent.

of female germs, and that as development proceeds either the male or the female germs assume the upper hand, killing out those of the other sex, until in the maturely developed individual only a few aborted germs of the opposite sex are left. In the homosexual person, however, and in the psychosexual hermaphrodite, we may imagine that the process has not proceeded normally, on account of some peculiarity in the number or character of either the original male germs or female germs, or both; the result being that we have a person who is organically twisted into a shape that is more fitted for the exercise of the inverted than of the normal sexual impulse, or else equally fitted for both.[1]

Thus in sexual inversion we have what may fairly be called a "sport" or variation, one of those organic aberrations which we see throughout living nature, in plants and in animals.[2]

[1] I do not present this view as more than a picture which helps us to realise the actual phenomena which we witness in homosexuality, although I may add that so able a teratologist as Dr. J. W. Ballantyne considers that "it seems a very possible theory". Lately (and independently) it has been somewhat more seriously and dogmatically set forth as an explanatory theory by Dr. G. de Letamendi, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine of Madrid, in a paper read before the International Medical Congress at Rome in 1894. Letamendi believes in a principle of panhermaphroditism —a hermaphroditic bipolarity—which involves the existence of latent female germs in the male, latent male germs in the female, which latent germs may strive for, and sometimes obtain, the mastery.

[2] The idea that sexual inversion is a variation, perhaps due to imperfect sexual differentiation, or reversion of type, was suggested in America by Kiernan (*Am. Lancet*, 1884, and *Med. Standard*, Nov.-Dec., 1888), and Lydston (*Phil. Med. and Surg. Reporter*, Sept., 1889, and *Addresses and Essays*, 1892.) In this work (p. 246) he remarks: "Just as we may have variations of physical form and of mental attributes, in general, so we may have variations and perversions of that intangible entity, sexual affinity"; and (p. 46) he refers to failure of development and imperfect differentiation of generative centres, comparable to conditions like hypospadias and epispadias. In Germany a patient of Krafft-Ebing has worked out the same idea, connecting inversion with fœtal bisexuality (8th ed. *Psych. Sex.*, p. 227). Krafft-Ebing himself simply asserts that, whether congenital or acquired, there must be *Belastung*; inversion is a "degenerative phenomenon," a functional sign of degeneration (Krafft-Ebing, "Zur Erklärung der conträren Sexualempfindung," *Jahrbuch für Psychiatrie*, 1894).

It is not here asserted, as I would carefully point out, that an inverted sexual instinct, or organ for such instinct, is developed in early embryonic life; such a notion is rightly rejected as absurd. What we may reasonably regard as formed at an early stage of development is strictly a predisposition, that is to say, such a modification of the organism that it becomes more adapted than the normal or average organism to experience sexual attraction to the same sex. The sexual invert may thus be roughly compared to the congenital idiot, to the instinctive criminal, to the man of genius, who are all not strictly concordant with the usual biological variation (because this is of a less subtle character), but who become somewhat more intelligible to us if we bear in mind their affinity to variations. Symonds compared inversion to colour-blindness; and such a comparison is reasonable. Just as the ordinary colour-blind person is congenitally insensitive to those red-green rays which are precisely the most impressive to the normal eye, and gives an extended value to the other colours—finding that blood is the same colour as grass, and a florid complexion blue as the sky—so the invert fails to see emotional values patent to normal persons, transferring their values to emotional associations which for the rest of the world are utterly distinct. Or we may compare inversion to such a phenomenon as coloured-hearing in which there is not so much defect, as an abnormality of nervous tracks producing new and involuntary combinations.[1] Just as the colour-hearer instinctively associates colours with sounds, like the young Japanese lady who remarked when listening to singing, "That boy's voice is red!" so the invert has his sexual sensations brought into relationship with objects that are normally without sexual appeal. And

[1] Since this chapter was first published (in the *Centralblatt für Nervenheilkunde*, Feb., 1896), Féré has also compared congenital inversion to colour-blindness and similar anomolies (Féré, "La Descendance d'un Inverti," *Rev. Gén. de Clinique et Ther.*, 1896), while Ribot has lately referred to the analogy with coloured hearing (*Psychology of the Emotions*, Part II, ch. 7).

inversion, like colour-hearing, is found more commonly in young subjects, tending to become less marked, or to die out, after puberty. Colour-hearing, while an abnormal phenomena, it must be added, cannot be called a diseased condition, and it is probably much less frequently associated with other abnormal or degenerative stigmata than is inversion. There is often a congenital element, shown by the tendency to hereditary transmission, while the associations are developed in very early life, and are too regular to be the simple result of suggestion.[1]

All these organic variations, which I have here mentioned to illustrate sexual inversion, are abnormalities. It is important that we should have a clear idea as to what an abnormality is. Many people imagine that what is abnormal is necessarily diseased. That is not the case, unless we give the word disease an inconveniently and illegitimately wide extension. It is both inconvenient and inexact to speak of colour-blindness, criminality and genius, as diseases, in the same sense as we speak of scarlet-fever or tuberculosis or general paralysis as diseases. Every congenital abnormality is doubtless due to a peculiarity in the sperm or oval elements or in their mingling, or to some disturbance in their early development. But the same may doubtless be said of the normal dissimilarities between brothers and sisters. It is quite true that any of these aberrations may be due to antenatal disease, but to call them abnormal does not beg that question. If it is thought that any authority is needed to support this view, we can scarcely find a weightier than that of Virchow, who has repeatedly insisted on the right use of the word "anomaly," and who teaches that, though an anomaly may constitute a predisposition to disease, the study of anomalies—pathology, as he would call it, teratology as we may perhaps prefer to call it—is not the

[1] See, *e.g.*, Flournoy, *Des Phenomênes de Synopsie*, Geneva, 1893; and for a brief discussion of the general phenomena of synæthesia, E. Parish, *Hallucinations and Illusions* (Contemporary Science Series), ch. vii; and Bleuler, Art. "Secondary Sensations" in Tuke's *Dict. of Psych. Med.*

study of disease, which he would term nosology; the study of the abnormal is perfectly distinct from the study of the morbid.[1] Virchow considers that the region of the abnormal is the region of pathology, and that the study of disease must be regarded distinctly as nosology. Whether we adopt this terminology, or whether we consider the study of the abnormal as part of teratology, is a secondary matter, not affecting the right understanding of the term "anomaly", and its due differentiation from the term "disease".

A word may be said as to the connection between sexual inversion and degeneration. In France especially, since the days of Morel, the stigmata of degeneration are much spoken of. Sexual inversion is frequently regarded as one of them, *i.e.*, as an episodic *syndrome* of an hereditary disease, taking its place beside other psychic stigmata, such as kleptomania and pyromania. Krafft-Ebing also so regards inversion. Strictly speaking, the invert is degenerate; he has fallen away from the genus. So is a colour-

[1] Thus at the Innsbruck meeting of the German Anthropological Society in 1894, Virchow thus expressed himself: "I am of opinion that a transformation, a metaplasia, a change from one species into another—whether in individual animals or plants, or individuals or their tissues—cannot take place without anomaly; for if no anomaly appears this new departure is impossible. *The physiological norm hitherto subsisting is changed*, and we cannot well call that anything else but an anomaly. But in old days an anomaly was called πάθος, and in this sense every departure from the norm is for me a pathological event. If we have ascertained such a pathological event, we are further led to investigate what *pathos* was the special cause of it. . . . This cause may be, for example, an external force, or a chemical substance, or a physical agent, producing in the normal condition of the body a change, an anomaly (πάθος). This can become hereditary under some circumstances, and then become the foundation for certain small hereditary characters which are propagated in a family; in themselves they belong to pathology, even although they produce no injury. For I must remark that pathological does not mean harmful; it does not indicate disease; disease in Greek is νόσος, and it is nosology that is concerned with disease. The pathological under some circumstances can be advantageous" (*Correspondenz-blatt v. Deutsch Gesellschaft für Anth.* 1894). Putting aside the question of terminology, these remarks are of interest when we are attempting to find the wider bearings of such an anomaly as sexual inversion.

blind person. But Morel's conception of degenerescence has unfortunately been coarsened and vulgarised.[1] As it now stands we gain little or no information by being told that a person is a "degenerate". When we find a complexus of well-marked abnormalities, we are fairly justified in asserting that we have to deal with a condition of degeneration. Inversion is frequently found in such a condition. I have, indeed, already tried to suggest that a condition of diffused minor abnormality may be regarded as the basis of congenital inversion. In other words, inversion is bound up with a modification of the secondary sexual characters.[2] But little is gained by calling these modifications "stigmata of degeneration," a term which threatens to disappear from scientific terminology, to become a mere term of literary and journalistic abuse. So much may be said concerning a conception or a phrase of which far too much has been made in popular literature. At the best it remains vague and little fitted for scientific use.[3]

Sexual inversion, therefore, remains a congenital abnormality, to be classed with the other congenital abnormalities which have psychic concomitants. At the very least such congenital abnormality usually exists as a

[1] It is this fact which has caused the Italians to be shy of using the word "degeneration"; thus, Marro, in his great work, *I Caratteri dei Delinquenti*, has made a notable attempt to analyse the phenomena lumped together as degenerate into three groups, Atypical, Atavistic, and Morbid.

[2] Kurella goes so far as to regard the invert as a transitional form between the complete man or the complete woman, and the genuine sexual hermaphrodite (Preface to the German edition of Laurent's *Les Bisexués*, 1896; and *Centralblatt für Nervenheilkunde*, May, 1896). This view is supported by what we see in animals (see p. 3), but scarcely accounts for all the facts in the human subject.

[3] The inverted impulse is sometimes (as by Näcke) considered an obsession, developing on a neurasthenic or neurotic basis. That there is an analogy and, indeed, a distinct relationship between obsessions and sexual perversions, I fully believe, but obsessions are so vague, capricious, and ill-understood, that I am not inclined to press the analogy very far. We cannot explain the little known by the less known. I would rather explain obsessions by reference to the sexual impulse, than the sexual impulse by reference to obsessions.

predisposition to inversion. It is probable that many persons go through the world with a congenital predisposition to inversion which always remain latent and unroused; in others the instinct is so strong that it forces its own way in spite of all obstacles; in others, again, the predisposition is weaker, and a powerful exciting cause plays the predominant part.

We are thus led to the consideration of the causes that excite the latent predisposition. A great variety of causes has been held to excite to sexual inversion. It is only necessary to mention those which I have found influential. The most important of these is undoubtedly our school system, with its segregation of boys and girls apart from each other during the important periods of puberty and adolescence. Many congenital inverts have not been to school at all, and many who have been, pass through school life without forming any passionate or sexual relationship; but there remain a large number who date the development of homosexuality from the influences and examples of school life. The impressions received at the time are not less potent because they are often purely sentimental and without any obvious sensual admixture. Whether they are sufficiently potent to generate permanent inversion alone may be doubtful, but if it is true that in early life the sexual instincts are less definitely determined than when adolescence is complete, it is conceivable, though unproved, that a very strong impression, acting even on a normal organism, may cause arrest of sexual development on the psychic side. It is a question I am not in a position to settle.

Another important exciting cause of inversion is seduction. By this I mean the initiation of the young boy or girl by some older and more experienced person in whom inversion is already developed, and who is seeking the gratification of the abnormal instinct. This appears to be a not uncommon incident in the early history of sexual inverts. That such seduction—sometimes an abrupt and inconsiderate act of mere sexual gratification—could by

itself produce a taste for homosexuality is highly improbable; in individuals not already predisposed it is far more likely to produce disgust, as it did in the case of the youthful Rousseau. "He only can be seduced", as Moll puts it, "who is capable of being seduced". No doubt it frequently happens in these, as so often in more normal "seductions", that the victim has offered a voluntary or involuntary invitation.[1]

Another exciting cause of inversion, to which little importance is usually attached but which I find to have some weight, is disappointment in normal love. It happens that a man in whom the homosexual instinct is yet only latent, or at all events held in a state of repression, tries to form a relationship with a woman. This relationship may be ardent on one or both sides, but —often, doubtless, from the latent homosexuality of the lover—it comes to nothing. Such love-disappointments, in a more or less acute form, occur at some time or another to nearly everyone. But in these persons the disappointment with one woman constitutes motive strong enough to disgust the lover with the whole sex and to turn his attention towards his own sex. It is evident that the instinct which can thus be turned round can scarcely be strong, and it seems probable that in some of these cases the episode of normal love simply serves to bring home to the invert the fact that he is not made for normal love.[2] In other cases, doubtless—especially those that are somewhat feeble-minded and unbalanced—a love disappointment really does poison the normal instinct, and a more or less impotent love for women becomes an

[1] Symonds knew an invert who, when staying at an hotel, heard a knock at his door after he had gone to bed; the boots entered with a light, locked the door behind him, and got into the bed. Another invert awoke to find the sentry posted at his door in the act of violating him. Both these inverts were of high social rank. "I feel dubious", remarks Symonds, "as to whether in each of these cases my informant did not draw on (by looks and appearance) the audacious inferior". It seems very probable, indeed; for such incidents very rarely happen to the normally constituted man.

[2] See, for instance, an incident in the early life of Case XVIII.

equally impotent love for men. The prevalence of homosexuality among prostitutes must certainly be in large extent explained by a similar and better founded disgust with normal sexuality.

These three influences, therefore,—example at school, seduction, disappointment in normal love,—all of them drawing the subject away from the opposite sex and concentrating him on his own sex, are powerful exciting causes of inversion; but they mostly require a favourable organic predisposition to act on, while there are a large number of cases in which no exciting cause at all can be found, but in which from the earliest childhood the subject's interest seems to be turned on his own sex, and continues to be so turned throughout life.

At this point I conclude the analysis of the psychology of sexual inversion as it presents itself to me. I have sought only to bring out the more salient points, neglecting minor points, neglecting also those groups of inverts who may be regarded as of secondary importance. The average invert, moving in ordinary society, so far as my evidence extends, is most usually a person of average general health, though very frequently with hereditary relationships that are markedly neurotic. He is usually the subject of a congenital predisposing abnormality, or complexus of minor abnormalities, making it difficult or impossible for him to feel sexual attraction to the opposite sex, and easy to feel sexual attraction to his own sex. This abnormality either appears spontaneously from the first, by development or arrest of development, or it is called into activity by some accidental circumstance.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSIONS.

The Prevention of Homosexuality—The Influence of the School—Co-education—The Treatment of Sexual Inversion—Criticism of Schrenck-Notzing's Methods—Mental and Physical Hygiene—The Limits to the Radical Cure of Inversion—The Children of Inverts—The Attitude of Society—Origin of the Horror Aroused by Homosexuality—Connection between Homosexuality and Infanticide—Justinian—The Code Napoléon—The State of the Law in Europe To-day—Germany—England—What should be our attitude towards Homosexuality?

HAVING now completed the psychological analysis of the sexual invert, so far as I have been able to study him, it only remains to speak briefly of the attitude of society and the law. First, however, a few words as to the medical aspects of inversion, and its prevention.

The question of the prevention of homosexuality is a large one, but it is in too vague a position at present to be very profitably discussed. So far as the really congenital invert is concerned, prevention can have but small influence; but, as in a large proportion of cases there is little obvious congenital element, sound social hygiene should render difficult the acquisition of homosexual perversity. What we need first of all is a much greater degree of sincerity concerning the actual facts. The school is undoubtedly the great breeding-place of artificial homosexuality among the general population—at all events in England. Its influence in this respect may have been over estimated, but it is undoubtedly large. It is very unfortunate that school authorities do their best to ignore and conceal the facts. The time is coming, how-

ever, when much greater attention to this matter will be insisted on in physicians and others who have the care of boys in large public and other schools. We cannot allow such persons to be mere instruments in the hands of corporations and individuals who are prepared to sacrifice everything to what is called the "school" or "the prosperty of the school," but which has nothing whatever to do with education or with the welfare of the scholar. While much may be done by physical hygiene and other means to prevent the extension of homosexuality in schools,[1] it is impossible, even if it were desirable, absolutely to repress the emotional manifestions of sex in either boys or girls who have reached the age of puberty. The only way to render such manifestations wholesome, as well as to prepare for the relationships of later life, is to ensure the adoption, so far as possible, of the methods of co-education of the sexes. This, however, is not the place to insist on the desirability of co-education.[2]

Turning from the prevention of sexual inversion to its medical treatment, so far as I am entitled to any opinion I strongly advocate discrimination, caution and scepticism.[3] I have little sympathy with those who are prepared to "cure" the invert at any price. Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing,

[1] In this connection I may refer to the writings of Dr. Clement Dukes, physician to Rugby School, who fully recognises the risks of school life, and to the discussion on sexual vice in schools, started by an address by the Rev. J. M. Wilson, headmaster of Clifton College, in the *Journal of Education*, 1881-82.

[2] Reference may, however, be made to the fact that those persons who have themselves been co-educated with the opposite sex are almost unanimously in favour of such education. See, for instance, "Will the Co-educated Co-educate their Children?" (*Forum*, July, 1894), by Prof. Martha F. Crow, who specially investigated this point. I need scarcely point out that co-education does not necessarily involve identity of education for the two sexes. And with regard to the importance of the sexual emotions generally and their training, I may refer to a remarkable book by Edward Carpenter, *Love's Coming of Age* (Manchester, 1896).

[3] Reference may be made to the wise and comprehensive conclusions of Moll on this matter in his *Die Conträre Sexualempfindung*.

the best known and most successful of these operators, seems to me to serve rather as a warning than as an example. He undertakes even the most pronounced cases of inversion by courses of treatment lasting more than a year, and involving, in at least one case, nearly 150 hypnotic sittings; he prescribes frequent visits to the brothel, previous to which the patient takes large doses of alcohol; by prolonged manipulations a prostitute endeavours to excite erection, a process attended with varying results. It appears that in some cases this course of treatment has been attended by a certain sort of success, to which an unlimited good will on the part of the patient, it is needless to say, has largely contributed. The treatment is, however, usually interrupted by continual backsliding to homosexual practices, and sometimes, naturally, the cure involves a venereal disorder. The patient is enabled to marry and to beget children; how the children turn out it is yet too early to say.[1] Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing may certainly be congratulated on the time, patience and energy which he devotes to his patients. Whether he may be congratulated on the treatment itself and its results, is less certain. For my own part, I frankly confess that the remedy seems to me worse than the disease. The histories I have recorded in previous chapters show that it is not uncommon for even a pronounced invert to be able sometimes to effect coitus. It often becomes easy if at the time he fixes his thoughts on

[1] Evidence on this point is, however, beginning to come in. Féré reports the case of an invert of great intellectual ability who had never had any sexual relationships, and was not averse from a chaste life; he was urged by his doctor to acquire the power of normal intercourse and to marry, on the ground that his perversion was merely a perversion of the imagination. He did so, and, though he married a perfectly strong and healthy woman, and was himself healthy, except in so far as his perversion was concerned, the offspring turned out disastrously. The eldest child was an epileptic, almost an imbecile, and with strongly-marked homosexual impulses; the second and third children were absolutely idiots; the youngest died of convulsions in infancy (Féré, "La Descendance d'un Inverti," *Rev. Gén. de Clinique et de Thérapeutique*, 1896). No doubt this is scarcely an average case.

images connected with his own sex. But the perversion remains unaffected; the subject is merely (as one of Moll's inverts expressed it) practising masturbation *per vaginam*. Such treatment is a training in vice, and, as Raffalovich points out, the invert is simply perverted and brought down to the vicious level which necessarily accompanies perversity.[1]

The sexual invert is specially liable to suffer from a high degree of neurasthenia, often involving much nervous weakness and irritability, loss of self-control and genital hyperæsthesia. This is a condition which may be ameliorated, and it may be treated in much the same way as if no inversion existed, by physical and mental tonics, or, if necessary, sedatives, by regulated gymnastics and out-of-door exercises, and by occupations which employ, without over-exerting, the mind. Very great and permanent benefit may be obtained by a prolonged course of such mental and physical hygiene; the associated neurasthenic conditions may be largely removed, with the morbid fears, suspicions and irritabilities that are usually part of neurasthenia, and the invert may be brought into a fairly wholesome and tonic condition of self-control.

The inversion is not thus removed. Before deciding whether it is desirable to attempt so radical a change in the sexual impulse, it is necessary to have full knowledge of the patient and his history. If he is still young, and if the perversion does not appear to be deeply rooted in the organism, it is probable that—provided his own good will is aiding—general hygienic measures, together with removal to a favourable environment, may gradually lead to the development of the normal sexual impulse. If it fails to do so, it becomes necessary to exercise great caution in recommending stronger methods. A brothel, on which

[1] Raffalovich, *Uranism et Unisexualité*, 1896, p. 16. He remarks that the congenital invert who has never had relations with women, and whose abnormality, to use Krafft-Ebing's distinction, is a perversion and not a perversity, is much less dangerous and apt to seduce others than the more versatile and corrupt person who has known all methods of gratification.

Schrenck-Notzing largely relies, is scarcely a desirable method of treatment from any point of view; to say no more, it is not calculated to attract an individual who is already inspired with disgust of women regarded as objects of desire. The assistance of an honest woman would be much better therapeutically, but it can very seldom be right and feasible to obtain the help of one who is likely to be successful.

While there is, no doubt, a temptation to aid those who are anxious for aid to get rid of their abnormality, it is not possible to look upon the results of such aid, even if successful, with much satisfaction. Not only is the acquisition of the normal instinct by an invert very much on a level with the acquisition of a vice, but probably it seldom succeeds in eradicating the original inverted instinct. What usually happens is that the person becomes capable of experiencing both impulses, not a specially satisfactory state of things.

Moreover, it is often not difficult to prematurely persuade an invert that his condition is changed; his health is perhaps improving, and if he experiences some slight attraction to a person of the opposite sex he hastily assumes that a deep and permanent change has occurred. This may be disastrous, especially if it leads to marriage, as it may do in an inverted man or still more easily in an inverted woman. The apparent change does not turn out to be deep, and the invert's position is more unfortunate than his original position, both for himself and for his wife.[1]

Nor is it possible to view with satisfaction the prospects of inverts begetting or bearing children. Often, no doubt, the children turn out fairly well, but for the most part they bear witness that they belong to a neurotic and

[1] I have recently been told by a distinguished physician, who was consulted in the case, of a congenital invert highly placed in the English Government service, who lately married in the hope of escaping his perversion, and was not even able to consummate the marriage. It is needless to insist on the misery which is created in such cases.

failing stock. Sometimes, indeed, the tendency to sexual inversion in eccentric and neurotic families seems merely to be Nature's merciful method of winding up a concern which, from her point of view, has ceased to be profitable.

We can seldom, therefore, safely congratulate ourselves on the success of any "cure" of inversion. The success is unlikely to be either permanent or complete, in the case of a decided invert; and in the most successful cases we have simply put into the invert's hands a power of reproduction which it is undesirable he should possess. The most satisfactory result is probably obtained when it is possible by direct and indirect methods to reduce the sexual hyperæsthesia which usually exists when the medical treatment of inversion comes into question, and by psychic methods to refine and spiritualise the inverted impulse, so that the invert's natural perversion may not become a cause of acquired perversity in others. The invert is not only the victim of his own abnormal obsession; he is the victim of social hostility. We must seek to distinguish the part in his sufferings due to these two causes. When I review the cases I have brought forward and the mental history of inverts I have known, I am inclined to say that if we can enable an invert to be healthy, self-restrained, and self-respecting, we have often done better than to convert him into the mere feeble simulacrum of a normal man. An appeal to the *paiderastia* of the best Greek days, and the dignity, temperance, even chastity, which it involved, will sometimes find a ready response in the emotional, enthusiastic nature of the congenital invert. The "manly love" celebrated by Walt Whitman in *Leaves of Grass*, although it may be of more doubtful value for general use, furnishes a wholesome and robust ideal to the invert who is insensitive to normal ideals. It is by some such method of self-treatment as this that most of the more highly intelligent men and women whose histories I have already briefly recorded have at last slowly and instinctively reached a condition of relative health and peace, both physical and moral. The

method of self-restraint and self-culture, without self-repression, seems to be the most rational method of dealing with sexual inversion when that condition is really organic and deep-rooted. It is better that a man should be enabled to make the best of his own strong natural instincts, with all their disadvantages, than that he should be unsexed and perverted, crushed into a position which he has no natural aptitude to occupy. As both Raffalovich and Féré have lately insisted, it is the ideal of chastity, rather than of normal sexuality, which the congenital invert should hold before his eyes. He may not have in him the making of *l'homme moyen sensuel*, he may have in him the making of a saint. What good work in the world the inverted may do is shown by the historical examples of distinguished inverts; and, while it is certainly true that these considerations apply chiefly to the finer grained natures, the histories I have brought together suffice to show that such natures constitute a considerable proportion of inverts. The helplessly gross sexual appetite cannot thus be influenced; but that remains true whether the appetite is homosexual or heterosexual, and nothing is gained by enabling it to feed on women as well as on men.

It can scarcely be said that the attitude of society is favourable to the invert's attainment of a fairly sane and well-balanced attitude. This is, indeed, one of the great difficulties in his way and causes him to waver between extremes of melancholia and egoistic exaltation.[1] We

[1] This is well brought out in a vigorous document by a very able writer, which I may here publish: "In this case the strength of sin is the law. No passion, however natural, which is scouted, despised, tabooed, banned, punished, relegated to holes and corners, execrated as abominable and unmentionable, can be expected to show its good side to the world. The sense of sin and crime and danger, the humiliation and repression and distress to which the unfortunate Pariahs of abnormal sexuality are daily and hourly exposed—and nobody but such a Pariah can comprehend what these are—inevitably deteriorate the best and noblest element in their emotion. It has been, I may truly say, the greatest sorrow of my life to watch the gradual dwindling and decay of emotions which started so

regard all homosexuality with absolute and unmitigated disgust. We have been taught to venerate Alexander the Great, Epaminondas, Socrates, and other antique heroes; but they are safely buried in the remote past, and do not affect our scorn of homosexuality in the present. There is undoubtedly a deeply founded reason for this horror and disgust, although in England it has only appeared during the last few centuries. Our modern attitude is sometimes traced back to the Jewish law and its survival in St. Paul's opinion on this matter. But the Jewish law itself had a foundation. Wherever the enlargement of the population becomes a strongly felt social need—as it was among the Jews in their exaltation of family life, and as it was when the European nations were constituted—there homosexuality has been regarded as a crime, even punishable with death. The Incas of ancient Peru, in the fury of their detestation, even destroyed a whole town where sodomy had once been detected. I do not know if it has been pointed out

purely and ideally, as well as passionately, for persons of my own sex in boyhood; to watch within myself, I repeat, the slow corrosion and corruption of a sentiment which might have been raised, under happier conditions, to such spiritual heights of love and devotion as chivalry is fabled to have reached—and at the same time to have been continually tormented by desires which no efforts would annihilate, which never slumbered except during weeks of life-threatening illness, and which, instead of improving in quality with age, have tended to become coarser and more contented with a trivial satisfaction. Give abnormal love the same chance as normal love, subject it to the wholesome control of public opinion, allow it to enjoy self-respect, draw it from dark places into the light of day, strike off its chains and make it free—and I am confident that it will develop analogous virtues, chequered, of course, by analagous vices, to those with which we are familiar in the mutual love of male and female. The slave has of necessity a slavish soul. The only way to elevate is to emancipate him. There is nothing more degrading to humanity in sexual acts performed between a man and a man than in similar acts performed between a man and a woman. In a certain sense all sex has an element which stirs repulsion in our finer nature. The high gods have

> 'Strewed our marriage bed with tears and fire,
> For extreme loathing and supreme desire.'

Nor would it be easy to maintain that the English curate begetting his

before that there seems to be a certain relationship between the social reaction against homosexuality and against infanticide. Where the one is regarded leniently and favourably, there generally the other is also; where the one is counted criminal, the other is usually a crime. Even the forceful Normans could not go against the stream and obtain recognition for their strong homosexual instincts anywhere in Europe, except apparently in England, where legislation against sodomy, beginning under Henry VIII., has a somewhat special and recent origin.

It was in the sixth century, at Rome, that the strong modern opposition to homosexuality was first clearly formulated in law. The Roman race had long been decaying; sexual perversions of all kinds flourished; the population was dwindling. At the same time, Christianity with its Judaic-Pauline antagonism to homosexuality was rapidly spreading. The statesmen of the day, anxious to quicken the failing pulses of national life, utilised this powerful Christian feeling. Constantine and Theodosius both passed laws against homosexuality, ordaining as penalty the *vindices flammæ*, but their enactments do not

fourteenth baby on the body of a worn-out wife is a more elevating object of mental contemplation than Harmodius in the embraces of his friend Aristogiton—that a young man sleeping with a prostitute picked up in the Haymarket is cleaner than his brother sleeping with a soldier picked up in the Park."

So it appears to the most fortunate and the most successful of these Pariahs. The case of most is far worse; brutalised by this antagonism, they become the abject prey of their perverted instincts. The passage just quoted, however, is an extreme statement of the matter. It may be well here to quote Mr. Raffalovich: "I do not believe that inverts are so much to be pitied as Krafft-Ebing thinks; if they are superior inverts they only suffer what superior men always suffer; the struggle between conscience, desire, prudence, and the world is not worse for the superior invert than for the superior heterosexual man. Their inversion has never prevented the great inverts from being themselves, and doing their work in the world. Do you think that Plato, Walt Whitman, Michael Angelo, the great Condé, Winkelmann, and the legion of others had the right or the wish to complain of their homosexuality? As to ordinary and abject inverts, they do not think themselves more to be pitied than men who are drunkards by taste or by habit."

seem to have been strictly carried out. In the year 538, Justinian, professing terror of certain famines, earthquakes, and pestilences, in which he saw the mysterious "recompense which was meet" prophesied by St. Paul,[1] issued his edict condemning unnatural offenders to torment and death, "lest as the result of these impious acts" (as the preamble to his Novella 77 has it) "whole cities should perish together with their inhabitants; for we are taught by Holy Scripture that through these acts cities have perished with the men in them". This edict constituted the foundation of legal enactment and social opinion concerning the matter in Europe for thirteen hundred years. In France the *vindices flammæ* survived to the last; St. Louis had handed over these sacrilegious offenders to the Church to be burned; in 1750 two pæderasts were burned in the Place de Grève, and only a few years before the Revolution a capuchin monk named Pascal was also burned.

After the Revolution, however, began a new movement, which has continued slowly and steadily ever since, though it still divides European nations into two groups. Justinian, Charlemagne and St. Louis had insisted on the sin and sacrilege of sodomy as the ground for its punishment. It was doubtless largely as a religious offence that the Code Napoléon omitted to punish it. The French law makes a clear and logical distinction between crime on the one hand, and vice and irreligion on the other, only concerning itself with the former. Homosexual practices in private, between two consenting adult parties, whether men or women, are absolutely unpunished by the Code Napoléon and by French law of to-day. Only under three conditions does the homosexual act come under the cognisance of the law as a crime: (1) when there is *outrage public à la pudeur*, *i.e.*, when the act is performed in public or with a possibility of witnesses; (2) when there is violence or absence of consent, in whatever

[1] *Epistle to the Romans*, ch. i, vv. 26-7.

degree the act may have been consummated; (3) when one of the parties is under age, or unable to give valid consent; in some cases it appears possible to apply Art. 334 of the penal code, directed against habitual excitation to debauch of young persons of either sex under the age of 21.[1]

This method of dealing with unnatural offences has spread widely through Europe, in the early part of the century because of the political influence of France, and more recently because such an attitude has commended itself on its merits. In Belgium and in Holland the law is similar to that of the Code Napoléon, as it is also, I believe, in Spain. The new Italian code of 1889 has also adopted the provisions of the French code. In Switzerland the law is a little vague, and varies slightly in the different cantons, but it is not severe, the general tendency being only to inflict brief imprisonment when serious complaints have been lodged, and cases can sometimes be settled privately by the magistrate.[2]

The only European countries in which homosexuality *per se* remains a penal offence appear to be Germany, Austria, Russia, and England. In several of the German States, such as Bavaria and Hanover, simple homosexuality formerly went unpunished, but when the laws of Prussia were in 1871 applied to the new German Empire this ceased to be the case, and unnatural carnality between males became an offence against the law. This article of the German Code (Sec. 175) has caused great discussion and much practical difficulty, because, although the terms of the law make it necessary to understand by *widernatürliche Unzucht* other practices besides *pædicatio*, not every homosexual practice is included; it

[1] See Chevalier, *L'Inversion Sexuelle*, 1893, p. 431, *et seq.*

[2] In the projected Swiss Code lately drawn up by a Commission of experts at Bern the influence of the French Code is again felt; offences against public decency are punishable by fine or imprisonment, and an adult guilty of unnatural practices (*widernatürliche Unzucht*) with a minor is punishable by imprisonment for at least six months. Homosexual practices *per se* are not mentioned (*Vorentwurf zu einem Schweizerischen Strafgesetzbuch*, Cap. V, 1896).

must be some practice resembling normal coitus. There is a wide-spread opinion that this article of the code should be abolished; it appears that at one time an authoritative committee, comprising names of such weight as Von Langenbeck, Virchow, Bardeleben, and A. W. Hoffmann, pronounced in favour of this step, and their proposition came near adoption. The Austrian law is somewhat similar to the German, but it applies to women as well as to men; this is logical, for there is no reason why homosexuality should be punished in men, and left unpunished in women; but the scheme of penal reform in Austria proposes to omit reference to women and at the same time greatly to diminish the maximum punishment assigned to this offence in men. In Russia the law against homosexual practices appears to be very severe, involving banishment to Siberia and deprivation of civil rights, but it can scarcely be rigorously executed.

The existing law in England is severe but simple. Carnal knowledge *per anum* of either a man or a woman or an animal is a felony (under 24 and 25 Vict., c. 100, sec. 61) punishable by penal servitude for life as a maximum and for ten years as a minimum; the attempt at such carnal knowledge is punishable by ten years penal servitude. The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 goes beyond this and makes even "gross indecency" between males, however privately committed, a penal offence.[1] The Criminal Law Amendment Act is in many respects an admirable enactment: to it we owe the raising of the age at which it becomes lawful for a woman to consent to sexual intercourse from over twelve to over sixteen. But this Act appears to have been somewhat hastily carried through, and many of its provisions, as

[1] "Any male person who in public or private commits, or is a party to the commission of, or procures or attempts to procure the commission by any male person of, any act of gross indecency with another male person, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and being convicted thereof, shall be liable at the discretion of the Court to be imprisoned for any term not exceeding two years, with or without hard labour."

well as its omissions, have been justly subjected to severe criticism. The clause from which I have quoted is specially open to criticism. With the omission of the words "or private," the clause would be sound and in harmony with the most enlightened European legislation; but it must be pointed out that an act only becomes indecent when those who perform it or witness it regard it as indecent. The act which brought each of us into the world is not indecent; it only becomes so if carried on in public. If two male persons, who have reached years of discretion, consent together to perform some act of sexual intimacy in private, no indecency has been committed. If one of the consenting parties subsequently proclaims the act indecency may doubtless be created, as may happen also in the case of normal sexual intercourse, but it seems contrary to good policy that such proclamation should convert the act itself into a penal offence. Moreover, "gross indecency" between males usually means some form of mutual masturbation; no penal code regards masturbation as an offence, and there seems to be no sufficient reason why mutual masturbation should be so regarded.[1] The main point to be ensured is that no boy or girl who has not reached years of discretion should be seduced or abused by an older person, and this point is equally well guaranteed on the basis introduced by the Code Napoléon. However shameful, disgusting, personally immoral, and indirectly anti-social it may be for two adult persons of the same sex, men or women, to consent together to perform an act of sexual intimacy in private, there is no sound or adequate ground for constituting such act a penal offence by law.

One of the most serious objections to the legal recognition of private "gross indecency," is the obvious fact

[1] This point is brought forward by Dr. Léon de Rode in his report on "L'Inversion Génitale et la Législation," prepared for the Third (Brussels) Congress of Criminal Anthropology in 1892. The same point was frequently insisted on by Symonds.

that only in the rarest cases can such indecency become known to the police, and we thus perpetrate what is very much like a legal farce. "The breaking of few laws," as Moll truly observes, regarding the German law, "so often goes unpunished as of this." It is the same in England, as is amply evidenced by the fact that of the British sexual inverts, some thirty in number, whose histories I have obtained, not one, so far as I am aware, has ever appeared in a police court. This impunity can only lead to a contempt for law generally. Such an attitude is distinctly opposed to good social polity.

It may further be pointed out that legislation against homosexuality has no clear effect either in diminishing or increasing its prevalence. This must necessarily be so as regards the kernal of the homosexual group, if we are to regard a considerable proportion of cases as congenital. In France homosexuality *per se* has been untouched by the law for a century, yet it abounds, chiefly, it seems, amongst the lowest class in the community; although the law is silent, social feeling is strong, and when—as has been the case in one instance—a man of undoubted genius has his name associated with this perversion it becomes difficult or impossible for the admirers of his work to associate with him personally; very few cases of homosexuality have been recorded in France among the more intelligent classes; the literature of homosexuality is there little more than the literature of male prostitution, as described by police officials, and as carried on largely for the benefit of foreigners.[1] In Germany and Austria,

[1] It is a remarkable and perhaps significant fact that, while homosexuality is to-day in absolute disrepute in France, it was not so under the less tolerant law of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Duc de Gesvres, as described by Besenval (*Mém.* I., p. 178), was a well-marked invert of feminine type, impotent, and publicly affecting all the manners of women; yet he was treated with consideration. In 1687 Madame, the mother of the Regent, writes implying that "all the young men and many of the old" practised pæderasty; "il n'y a que les gens du commun qui aiment les femmes." The marked tendency to inversion in the French Royal Family at this time is well known.

where the law against homosexuality is severe, it abounds also, probably to a much greater extent than in France; it certainly asserts itself more vigorously; a far greater number of cases have been recorded than in any other country, and the German literature of homosexuality is very extensive, often issued in popular form, and sometimes enthusiastically eulogistic.[1] In England the law is exceptionally severe; yet, according to the evidence of those who have an international acquaintance with these matters, homosexuality is fully as prevalent as on the Continent; some would say that it is more so. It cannot, therefore, be said, that legislative enactments have very much influence on the prevalence of homosexuality. The chief effect seems to be that the attempt at suppression arouses the finer minds among sexual inverts to undertake the enthusiastic defence of homosexuality, while coarser minds are stimulated to cynical bravado.[2]

But, while the law has had no more influence in repressing abnormal sexuality than, wherever it has tried to do so, it has had in repressing the normal sexual instinct, it has served to foster another offence. What is called blackmailing in England, *chantage* in France, *erpressung* in Germany—in other words, the extortion of money by threats of exposing some real or fictitious offence—finds its chief field of activity in connection with homosexuality. No doubt the removal of the penalty against simple homosexuality does not abolish blackmailing, as the existence of this kind of *chantage* in France shows, but it renders its success less probable.

On all these grounds, and taking into consideration the fact that the tendency of modern legislation generally, and

[1] Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* cannot fairly be regarded as eulogistic or popular in form; it has however, had a very wide and unrestricted sale.

[2] A man with homosexual habits told J. A. Symonds that he would be sorry to see the English law changed, as then he would find no pleasure in his practices.

the consensus of authoritative opinion in all countries, are in this direction, I am of opinion that neither "sodomy" (*i.e., immissio membri in anum hominis vel mulieris*) nor "gross indecency" ought to be penal offences, except under certain special circumstances. That is to say that if two persons of either or both sexes, having reached years of discretion,[1] privately consent to practise some perverted mode of sexual relationship, the law cannot be called upon to interfere. It should be the function of the law in this matter to prevent violence, to protect the young, and to preserve public order and decency. Whatever laws are laid down beyond this must be left to the individuals themselves, to the moralist and to social opinion.

At the same time, and while such a modification in the law seems to be reasonable, the change effected would be less considerable than may appear at first sight. In a very large proportion indeed of cases boys are involved. It is instructive to observe that in Legludic's 246 cases (including victims and aggressors together) in France, 127, or more than half, were between the ages of 10 and 20, and 82, or exactly one-third, were between the ages of 10 and 14. A very considerable field of operation is thus still left for the law, whatever proportion of cases may meet with no other penalty than social opinion.

That, however, social opinion—law or no law—will speak with no uncertain voice is very evident. I have already referred to the state of things in France, where the law has been placed on what must be regarded as a satisfactory basis for very nearly a century. Opinion in England may be gauged by the almost unspeakable disgust which from time to time (as during the trial of Oscar Wilde) finds expression in the newspapers.[2] I do

[1] Krafft-Ebing would place this age not under 16, the age at which in England girls may legally consent to normal sexual intercourse (*Psychopathia Sexualis*, 1893, p. 419). It certainly should not be lower.

[2] I am willing to admit that in this particular case the social reaction may have been somewhat excessive, and it has produced, especially abroad,

not know whether it has been pointed out that in the evolution of culture the popular attitude towards homosexuality has passed through three different stages, roughly corresponding to the stages of savagery, barbarism, and civilisation. At first it is primarily an aspect of economics, a question of under- or over-population; and is forbidden or allowed accordingly. Then (as throughout the Middle Ages from the time of Justinian) it becomes primarily a matter of religion, and thus an act of sacrilege. Now we hear little either of its economic aspects or of its sacrilegiousness; it is for us primarily a disgusting abomination, *i.e.*, a matter of taste, of æsthetics; and, while unspeakably ugly to the majority, it is proclaimed as beautiful by a small minority. I do not know that we need find fault with this æsthetic method of judging homosexuality. But it scarcely lends itself to legal purposes. To indulge in violent denunciation of the disgusting nature of homosexuality, and to measure the sentence by the disgust aroused, or to regret, as one English judge is reported to have regretted when giving sentence, that "gross indecency" is not punishable by death, is to import utterly foreign considerations into the matter. The judges who yield to this temptation would certainly never allow themselves to be consciously influenced on the bench by their political opinions. Yet æsthetical opinions are quite as foreign to law as political opinions. An act does not become criminal because it is disgusting. To eat excrement, as Moll remarks, is extremely disgusting, but it is not criminal. The confusion which thus exists, even in the legal mind, between the disgusting and the criminal is additional evidence of the undesirability of the legal penalty for simple homosexuality. At the same time it shows that social opinion

a rebounding wave of indignation, equally excessive, which finds expression, for instance, in the following dedication in *Le Cycle Patibulaire* (1896) of Georges Eekhoud, a leading Belgian novelist: "A Monsieur Oscar Wilde, au Poète et au martyr Païen, torturé au nom de le Justice et de la Virtu Protestantes."

is most amply adequate to deal with the manifestations of inverted sexuality. So much for the legal aspects of sexual inversion.

But, while there can be no doubt about the amply adequate character of the existing social reaction to all manifestations of perverted sexuality, the question still remains how far not merely the law, but also the state of public opinion, should be modified in the light of such a psychological study as we have here undertaken. It is clear this public opinion, moulded chiefly or entirely with reference to gross vice, tends to be unduly violent in its reaction. What, then, is the reasonable attitude of society towards the congenital sexual invert? It seems to lie in the avoidance of two extremes. On the one hand, it cannot be expected to tolerate the invert who flouts his perversion in its face and assumes that, because he would rather take his pleasure with a soldier or a policeman than with their sisters, he is of finer clay than the vulgar herd. On the other, it might well refrain from crushing with undiscerning ignorance beneath a burden of shame the subject of an abnormality which, as we have seen, has not been found incapable of fine uses. Inversion is an aberration from the usual course of nature. But the clash of contending elements which must often mark the history of such a deviation results now and again—by no means infrequently—in nobler activities than those yielded by the vast majority who are born to consume the fruits of the earth. It bears for the most part its penalty in the structure of its own organism. We are bound to protect the helpless members of society against the invert. If we go further, and seek to destroy the invert himself before he has sinned against society, we exceed the warrant of reason, and in so doing we may, perhaps, destroy also those children of the spirit which possess sometimes a greater worth than the children of the flesh.

Here we may leave this question of sexual inversion. In dealing with it I have sought to avoid that attitude of

moral superiority which is so common in the literature of this subject, and have refrained from pointing out how loathsome this phenomenon is, or how hideous that. Such an attitude is as much out of place in scientific investigation as it is in judicial investigation, and may well be left to the amateur. The physician who feels nothing but disgust at the sight of disease is unlikely to bring either succour to his patients or instruction to his pupils.

That the investigation we have here pursued is not only profitable to us in succouring the social organism and its members, but also in bringing light into the region of sexual psychology, is now, I hope, clear to every reader who has followed me to this point. There are a multitude of social questions which we cannot face squarely and honestly unless we possess such precise knowledge as has been here brought together concerning the part played by the homosexual tendency in human life. Moreover, the study of this perverted tendency stretches beyond itself;—

> "O'er that art
> Which you say adds to Nature, is an art
> That Nature makes."

Pathology is but physiology working under new conditions. The stream of Nature still flows into the bent channel of sexual inversion, and still runs according to law. We have not wasted our time in this toilsome excursion. With the knowledge here gained we are the better equipped to enter upon the study of the wider questions of sex.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

A PROBLEM IN GREEK ETHICS.[1]

By John Addington Symonds.

I. Introduction: method of treating the subject.

II. Homer had no knowledge of paiderastia.—Achilles.—Treatment of Homer by the later Greeks.

III. The Romance of Achilles and Patroclus.

IV. The heroic ideal of masculine love.

V. Vulgar paiderastia.—How introduced into Hellas.—Crete.—Laius.—The myth of Ganymede.

VI. Discrimination of two loves, heroic and vulgar. The mixed sort is the paiderastia defined as Greek love in this essay.

VII. The intensity of paiderastia as an emotion, and its quality.

VIII. Myths of paiderastia.

IX. Semi-legendary tales of love.—Harmodius and Aristogeiton.

X. Dorian Customs.—Sparta and Crete.—Conditions of Dorian life.—Moral quality of Dorian love.—Its final

[1] The following treatise on Greek Love was not composed for the present volume. I wrote it in the year 1873, when my mind was occupied with my *Studies of Greek Poets*. I printed ten copies of it privately in 1883. It was only when I read the Terminal Essay appended by Sir Richard Burton to his translation of the *Arabian Nights* in 1886, that I became aware of M. H. E. Meier's article on Pæderastie (Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopædie*, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1837). My treatise, therefore, is a wholly independent production. This makes Meier's agreement (in Section 7 of his article) with the theory I have set forth in Section X, regarding the North Hellenic origin of Greek Love, and its Dorian character, the more remarkable. That two students, working separately upon the same mass of material, should have arrived at similar conclusions upon this point strongly confirms the probabilitly of the hypothesis.

degeneracy. — Speculations on the early Dorian ἦθος.— Bœotian customs.—The sacred band.—Alexander the Great. —Customs of Elis and Megara.—Ὕβρις.—Ionia.

XI. Paiderastia in poetry of the lyric age. Theognis and Kurnus.—Solon.—Ibycus, the male Sappho.—Anacreon and Smerdies. — Drinking songs. — Pindar and Theoxenos. — Pindar's lofty conception of adolescent beauty.

XII. Paiderastia upon the Attic stage.—*Myrmidones* of Æschylus.—*Achilles' lovers*, and *Niobe* of Sophocles.—The *Chrysippus* of Euripides.—Stories about Sophocles.—Illustrious Greek paiderasts.

XIII. Recapitulation of points.—Quotation from the speech of Pausanias on love in Plato's *Symposium*. —Observations on this speech. Position of women at Athens.—Attic notion of marriage as a duty.—The institution of παιδαγωγοί.— Life of a Greek boy. — Aristophanes' *Clouds*. — Lucian's *Amores*.—The Palæstra.—The *Lysis*.—The *Charmides*—Autolycus in Xenophon's *Symposium*.—Speech of Critobulus on beauty and love.—Importance of gymnasia in relation to paiderastia. — Statues of Erôs. — Cicero's opinion. — Laws concerning the gymnasia.—Graffiti on walls.—Love-poems and panegyrics.—Presents to boys.—Shops and *mauvais lieux*. —Paiderastic ἑταίρεια.—Brothels.—Phædon and Agathocles. Street brawls about boys.—*Lysias in Simonem*.

XIV. Distinctions drawn by Attic law and custom.— Χρηστοὶ πόρνοι.— Presents and money.—Atimia of freemen who had sold their bodies. — The definition of μίσθωσις.— Ἐρώμενος, ἡταιρηκώς, πεπορνευμένος, distinguished. — *Æschines against Timarchus*.—General conclusion as to Attic feeling about honourable paiderastia.

XV. Platonic doctrine on Greek love.—The asceticism of the *Laws*. — Socrates. — His position defined by Maximus Tyrius.—His science of erotics.—The theory of the *Phædrus*: erotic μανία.—The mysticism of the *Symposium*: love of beauty.—Points of contact between Platonic paiderastia and chivalrous love: μανία and Joie: Dante's *Vita Nuova*.— Platonist and Petrarchist.—Gibbon on the "thin device" of the Athenian philosophers.—Testimony of Lucian, Plutarch, Cicero.

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XIX. Homosexuality among Greek women.—Never attained to the same dignity as paiderastia.

XX. Greek love did not exist at Rome.—Christianity.—Chivalry.—The *modus vivendi* of the modern world.

I.

For the student of sexual inversion, ancient Greece offers a wide field for observation and reflection. Its importance has hitherto been underrated by medical and legal writers on the subject, who do not seem to be aware that here alone in history have we the example of a great and highly-developed race not only tolerating homosexual passions, but deeming them of spiritual value, and attempting to utilise them for the benefit of society. Here, also, through the copious stores of literature at our disposal, we can arrive at something definite regarding the various forms assumed by these passions, when

allowed free scope for development in the midst of a refined and intellectual civilisation. What the Greeks called paiderastia, or boy-love, was a phenomenon of one of the most brilliant periods of human culture, in one of the most highly organised and nobly active nations. It is the feature by which Greek social life is most sharply distinguished from that of any other people approaching the Hellenes in moral or mental distinction. To trace the history of so remarkable a custom in their several communities, and to ascertain, so far as this is possible, the ethical feeling of the Greeks upon this subject, must be of service to the scientific psychologist. It enables him to approach the subject from another point of view than that usually adopted by modern jurists, psychiatrists, writers on forensic medicine.

II.

The first fact which the student has to notice is that in the Homeric poems a modern reader finds no trace of this passion. It is true that Achilles, the hero of the *Iliad*, is distinguished by his friendship for Patroclus no less emphatically than Odysseus, the hero of the *Odyssey*, by lifelong attachment to Penelope, and Hector by love for Andromache. But in the delineation of the friendship of Achilles and Patroclus there is nothing which indicates the passionate relation of the lover and the beloved, as they were afterwards recognised in Greek society. This is the more remarkable because the love of Achilles for Patroclus added, in a later age of Greek history, an almost religious sanction to the martial form of paiderastia. In like manner the friendship of Idomeneus for Meriones, and that of Achilles, after the death of Patroclus, for Antilochus, were treated by the later Greeks as paiderastic. Yet, inasmuch as Homer gives no warrant for this interpretation of the tales in question, we are justified in concluding that homosexual relations were not prominent in the so-called heroic age of Greece. Had it formed a distinct feature of the society depicted in the Homeric poems, there is no reason to suppose that their authors would have abstained from delineating it. We shall see that Pindar,

Æschylus and Sophocles, the poets of an age when paiderastia was prevalent, spoke unreservedly upon the subject.

Impartial study of the *Iliad* leads us to the belief that the Greeks of the historic period interpreted the friendship of Achilles and Patroclus in accordance with subsequently developed customs. The Homeric poems were the Bible of the Greeks, and formed the staple of their education ; nor did they scruple to wrest the sense of the original, reading, like modern Bibliolaters, the sentiments and passions of a later age into the text. Of this process a good example is afforded by Æschines in the oration against Timarchus. While discussing this very question of the love of Achilles, he says: *τὸν μὲν ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν αὐτῶν τῆς φιλίας ὑποκρύπτεται. ἡγουμενος τὰς τῆς ἐυνοίας ὑπερβολὰς καταφανεῖς εἶναι τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις τῶν ἀκροατῶν* : "he, indeed, conceals their love, and does not give its proper name to the affection between them, judging that the extremity of their fondness would be intelligible to instructed men among his audience." As an instance, the orator proceeds to quote the passage in which Achilles laments that he will not be able to fulfil his promise to Menœtius by bringing Patroclus home to Opus. He is here clearly introducing the sentiments of an Athenian hoplite who had taken the boy he loved to Syracuse and seen him slain there.

Homer stood in a double relation to the historical Greeks. On the one hand, he determined their development by the influence of his ideal characters. On the other, he underwent from them interpretations which varied with the spirit of each successive century. He created the national temperament, but received in turn the influx of new thoughts and emotions occurrring in the course of its expansion. It is, therefore, highly important, on the threshold of this inquiry, to determine the nature of that Achilleian friendship to which the panegyrists and apologists of the custom make such frequent reference.

III.

The ideal of character in Homer was what the Greeks called heroic ; what we should call chivalrous. Young men

studied the *Iliad* as our ancestors studied the Arthurian romances, finding there a pattern of conduct raised almost too high above the realities of common life for imitation, yet stimulative of enthusiasm and exciting to the fancy. Foremost among the paragons of heroic virtue stood Achilles, the splendour of whose achievements in the Trojan war was only equalled by the pathos of his friendship. The love for slain Patroclus broke his mood of sullen anger, and converted his brooding sense of wrong into a lively thirst for vengeance. Hector, the slayer of Patroclus, had to be slain by Achilles, the comrade of Patroclus. No one can read the *Iliad* without observing that its action virtually turns upon the conquest which the passion of friendship gains over the passion of resentment in the breast of the chief actor. This the Greek students of Homer were not slow to see; and they not unnaturally selected the friendship of Achilles for their ideal of manly love. It was a powerful and masculine emotion, in which effeminacy had no part, and which by no means excluded the ordinary sexual feelings. Companionship in battle and the chase, in public and in private affairs of life, was the communion proposed by Achilleian friends—not luxury or the delights which feminine attractions offered. The tie was both more spiritual and more energetic than that which bound man to woman. Such was the type of comradeship delineated by Homer; and such, in spite of the modifications suggested by later poets, was the conception retained by the Greeks of this heroic friendship. Even Æschines, in the place above quoted, lays stress upon the mutual loyalty of Achilles and Patroclus as the strongest bond of their affection: *τὴν πίστιν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν ποθεινοτάτην ἡγούμενος εἶναι*,[1] "regarding, I suppose, their loyalty and mutual goodwill as the most touching feature of their love".

IV.

Thus the tale of Achilles and Patroclus sanctioned among the Greeks a form of masculine love, which, though after-

[1] Compare the fine rhetorical passage in Max. Tyr., *Dissert.*, xxiv, 8, ed. Didot, 1842.

wards connected with paiderastia properly so called, we are justified in describing as heroic, and in regarding as one of the highest products of their emotional life. It will be seen, when we come to deal with the historical manifestations of this passion, that the heroic love which took its name from Homer's Achilles existed as an ideal rather than an actual reality. This, however, is equally the case with Christianity and chivalry. The facts of feudal history fall below the high conception which hovered like a dream above the knights and ladies of the Middle Ages; nor has the spirit of the Gospel been realised, in fact, by the most Christian nations. Still we are not on that account debarred from speaking of both chivalry and Christianity as potent and effective forces.

V.

Homer, then, knew nothing of paiderastia, though the *Iliad* contained the first and noblest legend of heroic friendship. Very early, however, in Greek history boy-love, as a form of sensual passion, became a national institution. This is proved abundantly by mythological traditions of great antiquity, by legendary tales connected with the founding of Greek cities, and by the primitive customs of the Dorian tribes. The question remains how paiderastia originated among the Greeks, and whether it was introduced or indigenous.

The Greeks themselves speculated on this subject, but they arrived at no one definite conclusion. Herodotus asserts that the Persians learned the habit, in its vicious form, from the Greeks;[1] but, even supposing this assertion to be correct, we are not justified in assuming the same of all barbarians who were neighbours of the Greeks; since we know from the Jewish records and from Assyrian inscriptions that the Oriental nations were addicted to this as well as other species of sensuality. Moreover, it might with some strain on language be maintained that Herodotus, in the passage above referred to, did not allude to boy-love in general, but to the peculiarly Hellenic form of it which I shall afterwards attempt to characterise.

[1] i, 135.

A prevalent opinion among the Greeks ascribed the origin of paiderastia to Crete; and it was here that the legend of Zeus and Ganymede was localised.[1] "The Cretans," says Plato,[2] are always accused of having invented the story of Ganymede and Zeus, which is designed to justify themselves in the enjoyment of such pleasures by the practice of the god whom they believe to have been their lawgiver".

In another passage,[3] Plato speaks of ὁ πρὸ τοῦ Λαΐου νόμος—the custom that prevailed before the time of Laius—in terms which show his detestation of a vice that had gone far toward corrupting Greek society. This sentence indicates the second theory of the later Greeks upon this topic. They thought that Laius, the father of Œdipus, was the first to practise ὕβρις, or lawless lust, in this form, by the rape committed on Chrysippus, the son of Pelops.[4] To this crime of Laius the Scholiast to the *Seven against Thebes* attributes all the evils which afterwards befell the royal house of Thebes, and Euripides made it the subject of a tragedy. In another but less prevalent Saga the introduction of paiderastia is ascribed to Orpheus.

It is clear from these conflicting theories that the Greeks themselves had no trustworthy tradition on the subject. Nothing, therefore, but speculative conjecture is left for the modern investigator. If we need in such a matter to seek further than the primal instincts of human nature, we may suggest that, like the orgiastic rites of the later Hellenic cultus, paiderastia in its crudest form was transmitted to the Greeks from the East. Its prevalence in Crete, which, together with Cyprus, formed one of the principal links between Phœnicia and Hellas proper, favours this view.

[1] Numerous localities, however, claimed this distinction. See Ath., xiii, 601. Chalkis in Eubœa, as well as Crete, could show the sacred spot where the mystical assumption of Ganymede was reported to have happened.

[2] *Laws*, i, 636. Cp. *Timœus*, quoted by Ath., p. 602. Servius, *ad Aen.* x, 325, says that boy-love spread from Crete to Sparta, and thence through Hellas, and Strabo mentions its prevalence among the Cretans (x, 483). Plato (Rep. v, 452) speaks of the Cretans as introducing naked athletic sports.

[3] *Laws*, viii, 863.

[4] See Ath., xiii, 602. Plutarch, in the Life of Pelopidas (Clough, vol. ii, p. 219), argues against this view.

Paiderastia would, on this hypothesis, like the worship of the Paphian and Corinthian Aphrodite, have to be regarded as in part an Oriental importation.[1] Yet, if we adopt any such solution of the problem, we must not forget that in this, as in all similar cases, whatever the Greeks received from adjacent nations, they distinguished with the qualities of their own personality. Paiderastia in Hellas assumed Hellenic characteristics, and cannot be confounded with any merely Asiatic form of luxury. In the tenth section of this Essay I shall return to the problem, and advance my own conjecture as to the part played by the Dorians in the development of paiderastia into a custom.

It is enough for the present to remark that, however introduced, the vice of boy-love, as distinguished from heroic friendship, received religious sanction at an early period. The legend of the rape of Ganymede was invented, according to the passage recently quoted from Plato, by the Cretans with the express purpose of investing their pleasures with a show of piety. This localisation of the religious sanction of paiderastia in Crete confirms the hypothesis of Oriental influence; for one of the notable features of Græco-Asiatic worship was the consecration of sensuality in the Phallus cult, the ἱερόδουλοι (temple slaves, or *bayadères*) of Aphrodite, and the eunuchs of the Phrygian mother. Homer tells the tale of Ganymede with the utmost simplicity. The boy was so beautiful that Zeus suffered him not to dwell on earth, but translated him to heaven, and appointed him the cup-bearer of the immortals. The sensual desire which made the king of gods and men prefer Ganymede to Leda, Io, Danaë, and all the maidens whom he loved and left on earth, is an addition to the Homeric version of the myth. In course of time the tale of Ganymede, according to the Cretan reading, became the nucleus around which the paiderastic associations of the Greek race gathered, just as that of Achilles formed the main point in their tradition of heroic friendship. To the Romans and the modern nations the name of Ganymede, debased to Catamitus, supplied a term of reproach, which sufficiently indicates the nature of the love of which he became eventually the eponym.

[1] See Rosenbaum, *Lustseuche im Alterthume*, p. 118.

VI.

Resuming the results of the last four sections, we find two separate forms of masculine passion clearly marked in early Hellas—a noble and a base, a spiritual and a sensual. To the distinction between them the Greek conscience was acutely sensitive; and this distinction, in theory at least, subsisted throughout their history. They worshipped Erôs, as they worshipped Aphrodite, under the twofold titles of Ouranios (celestial) and Pandemos (vulgar, or *volvivaga*); and, while they regarded the one love with the highest approval, as the source of courage and greatness of soul, they never publicly approved the other. It is true, as will appear in the sequel of this essay, that boy-love in its grossest form was tolerated in historic Hellas with an indulgence which it never found in any Christian country, while heroic comradeship remained an ideal hard to realise, and scarcely possible beyond the limits of the strictest Dorian sect. Yet the language of philosophers, historians, poets and orators is unmistakable. All testify alike to the discrimination between vulgar and heroic love in the Greek mind. I purpose to devote a separate section of this inquiry to the investigation of these ethical distinctions. For the present, a quotation fnom one of the most eloquent of the later rhetoricians will sufficiently set forth the contrast, which the Greek race never wholly forgot:[1]—

"The one love is mad for pleasure; the other loves beauty. The one is an involuntay sickness; the other is a sought enthusiasm. The one tends to the good of the beloved; the other to the ruin of both. The one is virtuous; the other incontinent in all its acts. The one has its end in friendship; the other in hate. The one is freely given; the other is bought and sold. The one brings praise; the other blame. The one is Greek; the other is barbarous. The one is virile; the other effeminate. The one is firm and constant; the other light and variable. The man who loves the one love is a friend of God, a friend of law, fulfilled of modesty, and free of speech. He dares to court his friend in daylight, and rejoices in his love. He wrestles with him in the playground and runs with him in the race, goes afield with him to the hunt, and in battle fights for glory at his side. In his misfortune he suffers, and at his death he dies with him. He needs uo gloom of night, no desert place, for this society. The other lover is a foe to heaven, for he is out of tune and criminal; a foe to law, for he transgresses law. Cowardly, despairing, shameless, haunting the dusk,

[1] Max. Tyr., *Dissert.*, ix.

lurking in desert places and secret dens, he would fain be never seen consorting with his friend, but shuns the light of day, and follows after night and darkness, which the shepherd hates, but the thief loves."

And again, in the same dissertation, Maximus Tyrius speaks to like purpose, clothing his precepts in imagery:—

"You see a fair body in bloom and full of promise of fruit. Spoil not, defile not, touch not the blossom. Praise it, as some wayfarer may praise a plant—even so by Phœbus' altar have I seen a young palm shooting toward the sun. Refrain from Zeus' and Phœbus' tree; wait for the fruit-season, and thou shalt love more righteously."

With the baser form of paiderastia I shall have little to do in this essay. Vice of this kind does not vary to any great extent, whether we observe it in Athens or in Rome, in Florence of the sixteenth or in Paris of the nineteenth century;[1] nor in Hellas was it more noticeable than elsewhere, except for its comparative publicity. The nobler type of masculine love developed by the Greeks is, on the contrary, almost unique[2] in the history of the human race. It is that which more than anything else distinguishes the Greeks from the barbarians of their own time, from the Romans, and from modern men in all that appertains to the emotions. The immediate subject of the ensuing inquiry will, therefore, be that mixed form of paiderastia upon which the Greeks prided themselves, which had for its heroic ideal the friendship of Achilles and Patroclus, but which in historic times exhibited a sensuality unknown to Homer.[3] In treating of this unique product of their civilisation I shall use the term *Greek Love*, understanding thereby a passionate and enthusiastic attachment subsisting between man and youth, recognised by society and protected by opinion, which, though it was not free from sensuality, did not degenerate into mere licentiousness.

[1] See Sismondi, vol. ii, p. 324; Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy, Age of the Despots*, p. 435; Tardieu, *Attentats aux Mœurs, Les Ordures de Paris;* Sir R. Burton's *Terminal Essay* to the "Arabian Nights"; Carlier, *Les Deux Prostitutions*, etc.

[2] I say almost, because something of the same sort appeared in Persia at the time of Saadi.

[3] Plato, in the *Phædrus*, the *Symposium*, and the *Laws*, is decisive on the mixed nature of paiderastia.

VII.

Before reviewing the authors who deal with this subject in detail, or discussing the customs of the several Greek states, it will be well to illustrate in general the nature of this love, and to collect the principal legends and historic tales which set it forth.

Greek love was, in its origin and essence, military. Fire and valour, rather than tenderness or tears, were the external outcome of this passion; nor had μαλαχία, effeminacy, a place in its vocabulary. At the same time it was exceedingly absorbing. "Half my life," says the lover, "lives in thine image, and the rest is lost. When thou art kind, I spend the day like a god; when thy face is turned aside, it is very dark with me."[1] Plato, in his celebrated description of a lover's soul, writes:[2]—

"Wherever she thinks that she will behold the beautiful one, thither in her desire she runs. And when she has seen him, and bathed herself with the waters of desire, her constraint is loosened and she is refreshed, and has no more pangs and pains; and this is the sweetest of all pleasures at the time, and is the reason why the soul of the lover will never forsake his beautiful one, whom he esteems above all; he has forgotten mother and brethren and companions, and he thinks nothing of the neglect and loss of his property. The rules and proprieties of life, on which he formerly prided himself, he now despises, and is ready to sleep like a servant, wherever he is allowed, as near as he can to his beautiful one, who is not only the object of his worship, but the only physician who can heal him in his extreme agony."

These passages show how real and vital was the passion of Greek love. It would be difficult to find more intense expressions of affection in modern literature. The effect produced upon the lover by the presence of his beloved was similar to that inspiration which the knight of romance received from his lady.

"I know not," says Phædrus, in the *Symposium* of Plato,[3] "any greater blessing to a young man beginning life than a virtuous lover, or to the lover than a beloved youth. For the principle which ought to be the guide of men who would nobly live—that principle, I say, neither kindred, nor

[1] Theocr., Παιδικά, probably an Æolic poem of much older date.
[2] *Phædrus*, p. 252, Jowett's translation.
[3] Page 178, Jowett.

honour, nor wealth, nor any other motive is able to implant so well as love. Of what am I speaking? Of the sense of honour and dishonour, without which neither states nor individuals ever do any good or great work. And I say that a lover who is detected in doing any dishonourable act, or submitting, through cowardice, when any dishonour is done to him by another, will be more pained at being detected by his beloved than at being seen by his father, or by his companions, or by any one else. The beloved, too, when he is seen in any disgraceful situation, has the same feeling about his lover. And if there were only some way of contriving that a state or an army should be made up of lovers and their loves, they would be the very best governors of their own city, abstaining from all dishonour: and emulating one another in honour; and when fighting at one another's side, although a mere handful, they would overcome the world. For what lover would not choose rather to be seen by all mankind than by his beloved, either when abandoning his post, or throwing away his arms? He would be ready to die a thousand deaths rather than endure this. Or who would desert his beloved or fail him in the hour of danger? The veriest coward would become an inspired hero, equal to the bravest, at such a time; love would inspire him. That courage which, as Homer says, the god breathes into the soul of heroes, love of his own nature inspires into the lover."

With the whole of this quotation we might compare what Plutarch in the Life of Pelopidas relates about the composition of the Sacred Band;[1] while the following anecdote from the *Anabasis* of Xenophon may serve to illustrate the theory that regiments should consist of lovers.[2] Episthenes of Olynthus, one of Xenophon's hoplites, saved a beautiful boy from the slaughter commanded by Seuthes in a Thracian village. The king could not understand why his orders had not been obeyed, till Xenophon excused his hoplite by explaining that Episthenes was a passionate boy-lover, and that he had once formed a corps of none but beautiful men: *καὶ ὅτι λόχον ποτὲ συνελέξατο σκοπῶν ὀυδὲν ἄλλο ἢ εἴ τινες εἶεν καλοί, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ην ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός.*[3] Then Seuthes asked Episthenes if he was willing to die instead of the boy, and he answered, stretching out his neck, "Strike," he says, if the boy says 'Yes,[3] and will be pleased with it": *ὁ δὲ Σεύθης*

[1] Clough, vol. ii, p. 218.

[2] Book vii, 4, 7.

[3] We may compare a passage from the *Symposium* ascribed to Xenophon: *Παυσανίας γε ὁ Ἀγαθωνος τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐραστὴς ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀκρασίᾳ συγκυλινδουμένων εἴρηκεν ὡς καὶ στράτευμα ἀλκιμώτατον γένοιτο ἐκ παιδικῶν τε καὶ ἐραστῶν*, viii, 32.

ἤρετο· ἦ καὶ ἐθέλοις ἂν ὦ Ἐπίσθενες ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀποθανεῖν ; ὁ δ' εἶπεν ἀνατείνας τὸν τράχηλον· παῖε, ἔφη, εἰ κελεύει ὁ παῖς καὶ μέλλει χαίρειν εἰδέναι. At the end of the affair, which is told by Xenophon with a quiet humour that brings a little scene of Greek military life vividly before us, Seuthes gave the boy his liberty, and the soldier walked away with him.

In order further to illustrate the hardy nature of Greek love, I may allude to the speech of Pausanias in the *Symposium* of Plato.[1] The fruits of love, he says, are courage in the face of danger, intolerance of despotism, the virtues of the generous and haughty soul.

"In Ionia," he adds, "and other places, and generally in countries which are subject to the barbarians, the custom is held to be dishonourable ; loves of youths share the evil repute of philosophy and gymnastics because they are inimical to tyranny, for the interests of rulers require that their subjects should be poor in spirit, and that there should be no strong bond of friendship or society among them, which love, above all other motives, is likely to inspire, as our Athenian tyrants learned by experience."

VIII.

Among the myths to which Greek lovers referred with pride, besides that of Achilles, were the legends of Theseus and Peirithous, of Orestes and Pylades, of Talos and Rhadamanthus, of Damon and Pythias. Nearly all the Greek gods, except, I think, oddly enough, Ares, were famous for their love. Poseidon, according to Pindar, loved Pelops; Zeus, besides Ganymede, was said to have carried off Chrysippus. Apollo loved Hyacinth, and numbered among his favourites Branchos and Claros. Pan loved Cyparissus, and the spirit of the evening star loved Hymenæus. Hypnos, the God of slumber, loved Endymion, and sent him to sleep with open eyes, in order that he might always gaze upon their beauty. (Ath. xiii, 564). The myths of Phœbus, Pan, and Hesperus, it may be said in passing, are paiderastic parallels to the tales of Adonis and Daphine, They do not represent the specific quality of national Greek love at all in the same way as the legends of Achilles, Theseus, Pylades, and Pythias. We find in them merely a

[1] Page 182, Jowett.

beautiful and romantic play of the mythopœic fancy, after paiderastia had taken hold on the imagination of the race. The case is different with Herakles, the patron, eponym, and ancestor of Dorian Hellas. He was a boy-lover of the true heroic type. In the innumerable amours ascribed to him we always discern the note of martial comradeship. His passion for Iolaus was so famous that lovers swore their oaths upon the Theban's tomb;[1] while the story of his loss of Hylas supplied Greek poets with one of their most charming subjects. From the idyll of Theocritus called *Hylas* we learn some details about the relation between lover and beloved, according to the heroic ideal.

"Nay, but the son of Amphitryon, that heart of bronze, he that abode the wild lion's onset, loved a lad, beautiful Hylas—Hylas of the braided locks, and he taught him all things as a father teaches his child, all whereby himself became a mighty man and renowned in minstrelsy. Never was he apart from Hylas, ... and all this that the lad might be fashioned to his mind, and might drive a straight furrow, and come to the true measure of man."[2]

IX.

Passing from myth to semi-legendary history, we find frequent mention made of lovers in connection with the great achievements of the earliest age of Hellas. What Pausanias and Phædrus are reported to have said in the *Symposium* of Plato, is fully borne out by the records of the numerous tyrannicides and self-devoted patriots who helped to establish the liberties of the Greek cities. When Epimenides of Crete required a human victim in his purification of Athens from the μῦσος of the Megacleidæ, two lovers, Cratinus and Aristodemus, offered themselves as a voluntary sacrifice for the city.[3] The youth died to propitiate the gods; the lover refused to live without him. Chariton and Melanippus, who attempted to assassinate Phalaris of Agrigentum, were lovers.[4] So were Diocles and Philolaus, natives of Corinth, who removed to Thebes, and after giving

[1] Plutarch, *Eroticus*, cap. xvii, p. 761, 40, Reiske.

[2] Lang's translation, p. 63.

[3] See Athenæus, xiii, 602, for the details.

[4] See Athenæus, xiii, 602, who reports an oracle in praise of these lovers

laws to their adopted city, died and were buried in one grave.[1] Not less celebrated was another Diocles, the Athenian exile, who fell near Megara in battle, fighting for the boy he loved.[2] His tomb was honoured with the *ἐναγίσματα*, or rites and sacrifices specially reserved for heroes. A similar story is told of the Thessalian horseman Cleomachus.[3] This soldier rode into a battle which was being fought between the people of Eretria and Chalkis, inflamed with such enthusiasm for the youth he loved, that he broke the foemen's ranks and won the victory for the Chalkidians. After the fight was over Cleomachus was found among the slain, but his corpse was nobly buried; and from that time forward love was honoured by the men of Chalkis.[4] These stories might be paralleled from actual Greek history. Plutarch, commenting upon the courage of the sacred band of Thebans,[5] tells of a man "who, when his enemy was going to kill him, earnestly requested him to run him through the breast, that his lover might not blush to see him wounded in the back". In order to illustrate the haughty temper of Greek lovers, the same author, in his *Erotic Dialogue*, records the names of Antileon of Metapontum, who braved a tyrant in the cause of a boy he loved;[6] of Crateas, who punished Archelaus with death for an insult offered to him; of Pytholaus, who treated Alexander of Pheræ in like manner; and of another youth who killed the Ambracian tyrant Periander for a similar affront.[7] To these tales we might add another told by Plutarch in his Life of Demetrius Poliorketes. This man insulted a boy called Damocles, who, finding no other way to save his honour, jumped into a cauldron of boiling water and was killed upon the spot.[8] A curious legend belonging

[1] Ar., *Pol.*, ii, 9.

[2] See Theocr., *Αἴτες* and the *Scholia*.

[3] See Plutarch's *Eroticus*, 760, 42, where the story is reported on the faith of Aristotle.

[4] They became *παιδόφιλοι ἐκμανῶς*, and *χαλκιδίζειν* was synonymous with *λακωνίζειν*.

[5] *Pelopidas*, Clough's trans., vol. ii, p. 218.

[6] Cap. xvi, p. 760, 21.

[7] Cap. xxiii, p. 768, 53. Compare Max. Tyr., *Dissert.*, xxiv, 1. See, too, the chapter on Tyrannicide in Ar. Pol., viii (v), 10.

[8] Clough's trans., vol. v, p. 118.

to semi-mythical romance related by Pausanias,[1] deserves a place here, since it proves to what extent the popular imagination was impregnated by notions of Greek love. The city of Thespia was at one time infested by a dragon, and young men were offered to appease its fury every year. They all died unnamed and unremembered except one, Cleostratus. To clothe this youth, his lover, Menestratus, forged a brazen coat of mail, thick set with hooks turned upwards. The dragon swallowed Cleostratus and killed him, but died by reason of the hooks. Thus love was the salvation of the city and the source of immortality to the two friends.

It would not be difficult to multiply romances of this kind ; the rhetoricians and moralists of later Greece abound in them.[2] But the most famous of all remains to be recorded. This is the story of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who freed Athens from the tyrant Hipparchus. There is not a speech, a poem, an essay, a panegyrical oration in praise of either Athenian liberty or Greek love which does not tell the tale of this heroic friendship. Herodotus and Thucydides treat the event as matter of serious history. Plato refers to it as the beginning of freedom for the Athenians. The drinking-song in honour of these lovers is one of the most precious fragments of popular Greek poetry which we possess. As in the cases of Lucretia and Virginia, so here a tyrant's intemperance was the occasion, if not the cause, of a great nation's rising. Harmodius and Aristogeiton were reverenced as martyrs and saviours of their country. Their names gave consecration to the love which made them bold against the despot, and they became at Athens eponyms of paiderastia."[3]

X.

A considerable majority of the legends which have been related in the preceding section are Dorian, and the Dorians gave the earliest and most marked encouragement to Greek love. Nowhere else, indeed, except among the Dorians, who

[1] *Hellenics*, bk. ix, cap. xxvi.

[2] Suidas, under the heading παιδικά, tells of two lovers who both died in battle, fighting each to save the other.

[3] See, for example, *Æschines against Timarchus*, 59.

were an essentially military race, living like an army of occupation in the countries they had seized, herding together in barracks and at public messes, and submitting to martial drill and discipline, do we meet with paiderastia developed as an institution. In Crete and Lacedæmon it became a potent instrument of education. What I have to say, in the first instance, on this matter is derived almost entirely from C. O. Müller's *Dorians*,[1] to which work I refer my readers for the authorities cited in illustration of each detail. Plato says that the law of Lycurgus in respect to love was ποικίλος,[2] by which he means that it allowed the custom under certain restrictions. It would appear that the lover was called Εἰσπνήλας, or inspirer, at Sparta, while the youth he loved was named Ἀίτας, or hearer. These local phrases sufficiently indicate the relation which subsisted between the pair. The lover taught, the hearer learned; and so from man to man was handed down the tradition of heroism, the peculiar tone and temper of the state to which, in particular among the Greeks, the Dorians clung with obstinate pertinacity. Xenophon distinctly states that love was maintained among the Spartans with a view to education: and when we consider the customs of the state, by which boys were separated early from their homes and the influences of the family were almost wholly wanting, it is not difficult to understand the importance of the paiderastic institution. The Lacedæmonian lover might represent his friend in the Assembly. He was answerable for his good conduct, and stood before him as a pattern of manliness, courage, and prudence. Of the nature of his teaching we may form some notion from the precepts addressed by the Megarian Theognis to the youth Kurnus. In battle the lovers fought side by side;[3] and it is worthy of notice that before entering into an engagement the Spartans sacrificed to Erôs. It was reckoned a disgrace if a youth found no man to be his lover. Consequently we find that the most illustrious Spartans are mentioned by their biographers in connection with their comrades. Agesilaus heard Lysander; Archidamus, his son, loved Cleonymus;

[1] Trans. by Sir G. C. Lewis, vol, ii, pp. 306-313.

[2] *Symp.* 182 A. [3] Hence the name παραστάτης.

Cleomenes III was the hearer of Xenares and the inspirer of Panteus. The affection of Pausanias, on the other hand, for the boy Argilus, who betrayed him, according to the account of Thucydides,[1] must not be reckoned among these nobler loves. In order to regulate the moral conduct of both parties, Lycurgus made it felony, punishable with death or exile, for the lover to desire the person of a boy in lust; and, on the other hand, it was accounted exceedingly disgraceful for the younger to meet the advances of the elder with a view to gain. Honest affection and manly self-respect were exacted on both sides; the bond of union implied no more of sensuality than subsists between a father and a son, a brother and a brother. At the same time great license of intercourse was permitted. Cicero, writing long after the great age of Greece, but relying probably upon sources to which we have no access, asserts that "Lacedæmonii ipsi cum omnia concedunt in amore juvenum *præter stuprum*, tenui sane muro dissæpiunt id quod excipiunt: *complexus enim concubitusque permittunt*."[2] "The Lacedemonians, while they permit all things except outrage in the love of youths, certainly distinguish the forbidden by a thin wall of partition from the sanctioned, for they allow embraces and a common couch to lovers."

In Crete the paiderastic institutions were even more elaborate than at Sparta. The lover was called φιλήτωρ, and the beloved one κλεινὸς. When a man wished to attach to himself a youth in the recognised bonds of friendship, he took him away from his home, with a pretence of force, but not without the connivance, in most cases, of his friends.[3] For two months the pair lived together among the hills, hunting and fishing. Then the φιλήτωρ gave gifts to the youth, and suffered him to return to his relatives. If the κλεινὸς (illustrious or laudable) had received insults or ill-treatment during the probationary weeks, he now could get redress at law. If he was satisfied with the conduct of his would-be comrade, he changed his title from κλεινὸς to παραστάτης (comrade and bystander in the ranks of battle and life), returned to the

[1] i, 132. [2] *De Rep.*, iv, 4.

[3] I need hardly point out the parallel between this custom and the marriage customs of half-civilised communities.

φιλήτωρ, and lived thenceforward in close bonds of public intimacy with him.

The primitive simplicity and regularity of these customs make it appear strange to modern minds; nor is it easy to understand how they should ever have been wholly free from blame. Yet we must remember the influences which prevalent opinion and ancient tradition both contribute toward preserving a delicate sense of honour under circumstances of apparent difficulty. The careful reading of one Life by Plutarch, that, for instance, of Cleomenes or that of Agis, will have more effect in presenting the realities of Dorian existence to our imagination than any amount of speculative disquisition. Moreover, a Dorian was exposed to almost absolute publicity. He had no chance of hiding from his fellow-citizens the secrets of his private life. It was not, therefore, till the social and political complexion of the whole nation became corrupt that the institutions just described encouraged profligacy.[1] That the Spartans and the Cretans degenerated from their primitive ideal is manifest from the severe critiques of the philosophers. Plato, while passing a deliberate censure on the Cretans for the introduction of paiderastia into Greece,[2] remarks that *syssitia*, or meals in common, and *gymnasia* are favourable to the perversion of the passions. Aristotle, in a similar argument,[3] points out that the Dorian habits had a direct tendency to check the population by encouraging the love of boys and by separating women from the society of men. An obscure passage quoted from Hagnon by Athenæus might also be cited to prove that the Greeks at large had formed no high opinion of Spartan manners.[4] But the most

[1] The general opinion of the Greeks with regard to the best type of Dorian love is well expressed by Maximus Tyrius, *Dissert.*, xxvi, 8: Κρητικῷ μειρακίῳ ἀισχρὸν ἀνέραστον εἶναι. Κρητικῳ νεανίσκῳ αἰσχρὸν προσάψασθαι παιδικῶν ὦ νόμου κεκραμένου καλῶς σοφροσύνη καὶ ἔρωτι. ἐρᾷ Σπαρτιάτης ἀνὴρ μειρακίου Λακωνικοῦ ὤλλ' ἐρᾷ μόνον ὡς ἀγάλματος καλοῦ· καὶ ἑνὸς πολλοὶ καὶ εἷς πολλῶν. "It is esteemed a disgrace to a Cretan youth to have no lover. It is a disgrace for a Cretan youth to tamper with the boy he loves. O custom, beautifully blent of self-restraint and passion! The man of Sparta loves the lad of Lacedæmon, but loves him only as one loves a fair statue: and many love one, and one loves many."

[2] *Laws*, i, 636. [3] *Pol.*, ii, 7, 4. [4] Lib. 13, 602, E.

convincing testimony is to be found in the Greek language: *λακωνίζειν*, *λακωνικὸν τρόπον περαίνειν* and *κρητίζειν*, "to do like the Laconians, to have connection in Laconian way, to do like the Cretans", tell their own tale, especially when we compare these phrases with *κορινθιάζειν*, *λεσβιάζειν*, *σιφνιάζειν*, *φοινιχιζειν*, "to do like the Corinthians, the Lesbians, the Siphnians, the Phœnicians", and other verbs formed to indicate the vices localised in separate districts.

Up to this point I have been content to follow the notices of Dorian institutions which are scattered up and down the later Greek authors, and which have been collected by C. O. Müller. I have not attempted to draw definite conclusions, or to speculate upon the influence which the Dorian section of the Hellenic family may have exercised in developing paiderastia. To do so now will be legitimate, always remembering that what we actually know about the Dorians is confined to the historic period, and that the tradition respecting their early customs is derived from second-hand authorities.

It has frequently occurred to my mind that the mixed type of paiderastia which I have named Greek Love took its origin in Doris. Homer, who knew nothing about the passion as it afterwards existed, drew a striking picture of masculine affection in Achilles. And Homer, I may add, was not a native of northern Greece. Whoever he was, or whoever they were, the poet, or the poets, we call Homer belonged to the south-east of the Ægean. Homer, then, may have been ignorant of paiderastia. Yet friendship occupies the first place in his hero's heart, while only the second is reserved for sexual emotion. Now Achilles came from Phthia, itself a portion of that mountain region to which Doris belonged.[1] Is it unnatural to conjecture that the Dorians, in their migration to Lacedæmon and Crete, the recognised headquarters of the custom, carried a tradition of heroic paiderastia along with them? Is it unreasonable to surmise that here, if anywhere in Hellas, the custom existed from prehistoric times? If so, the circumstances of their invasion would have fostered the transformation of this tradition into a tribal institution.

[1] It is not unimportant to note in this connection that paiderastia of no ignoble type still prevails among the Albanian mountaineers.

They went forth, a band of warriors and pirates, to cross the sea in boats, and to fight their way along the hills and plains of Southern Greece. The dominions they had conquered with their swords they occupied like soldiers. The camp became their country, and for a long period of time they literally lived upon the bivouac. Instead of a πόλις, city-state, with its manifold complexities of social life, they were reduced to the narrow limits and the simple conditions of a roving horde. Without sufficiency of women, without the sanctities of established domestic life, inspired by the memory of Achilles, and venerating their ancestor Herakles, the Dorian warriors had special opportunity for elevating comradeship to the rank of an enthusiasm. The incidents of emigration into a distant country—perils of the sea, passages of rivers and mountains, assaults of fortresses and cities, landings on a hostile shore, night-vigils by the side of blazing beacons, foragings for food, picquet services in the front of watchful foes —involved adventures capable of shedding the lustre of romance on friendship. These circumstances, by bringing the virtues of sympathy with the weak, tenderness for the beautiful, protection for the young, together with corresponding qualities of gratitude, self-devotion and admiring attachment, into play, may have tended to cement unions between man and man no less firm than that of marriage. On such connections a wise captain would have relied for giving strength to his battalion, and for keeping alive the flame of enterprise and daring. Fighting and foraging in company, sharing the same wayside board and heath-strewn bed, rallying to the comrade's voice in onset, relying on the comrade's shield when fallen, these men learned the meanings of the words φιλήτωρ and παραστάτης. To be loved was honourable, for it implied being worthy to be died for. To love was glorious, since it pledged the lover to self-sacrifice in case of need. In these conditions the paiderastic passion may have well combined manly virtue with carnal appetite, adding such romantic sentiment as some stern men reserve within their hearts for women.[1] A motto

[1] The foregoing attempt to reconstruct a possible environment for the Dorian form of paiderastia is, of course, wholly imaginative. Yet it receives certain support from what we know about the manners of the Albanian mountaineers and the nomadic Tartar tribes. Aristotle remarks

might be chosen for a lover of this early Dorian type from the Æolic poem ascribed to Theocritus: κἤμε μαλθαχὸν ἐξ ἐπόησε σιδαρίω,[1] "And made me tender from the iron man I used to be."

In course of time, when the Dorians had settled down upon their conquered territories, and when the passions which had shown their more heroic aspect during a period of warfare came, in a period of idleness, to call for methods of restraint, then the discrimination between honourable and base forms of love, to which Plato pointed as a feature of the Dorian institutions, took place. It is also more than merely probable that in Crete, where these institutions were the most precisely regulated, the Dorian immigrants came into contact with Phœnician vices, the repression of which required the adoption of a strict code.[2] In this way paiderastia, considered as a mixed custom, partly martial, partly luxurious, recognised by public opinion and controlled by law, obtained among the Dorian Tribes, and spread from them throughout the states of Hellas. Relics of numerous semi-savage habits—κρυπτεῖα, thefts of food, ravishment as a prelude to marriage, and so forth—indicate in like manner the survival among the Dorians of primitive tribal institutions.

It will be seen that the conclusion to which I have been drawn by the foregoing considerations is that the mixed form of paiderastia called by me in this essay Greek love owed its peculiar quality, what Plato called its ποικίλον νόμον, "the intricacy of its laws and customs," to two diverse strains of circumstances harmonised in the Greek temperament. Its military and enthusiastic elements were derived from the primitive conditions of the Dorians during their immigration into Southern Greece. Its refinements of sensuality and sanctified impurity are referable to contact with Phœnician civilisation. The specific form it assumed among the Dorians of the historic period, equally removed from military freedom and from Oriental luxury, can be ascribed to the operation of that organising, moulding and assimilating spirit which we recognise as Hellenic.

upon the paiderastic customs of the Kelts, who in his times were immigrant.

[1] So Ahrens reads it; another reading is ἐπόνασε.

[2] See above, Section V.

The position thus stated is, unfortunately, speculative rather than demonstrable; and in order to establish the reasonableness of the speculation, it would be natural at this point to introduce some account of paiderastia as it exists in various savage tribes, if their customs could be seen to illustrate the Doric phase of Greek love. This, however, is not the case. Study of Mr. Herbert Spencer's Tables, and of Bastian's *Der Mensch in der Geschichte* (vol. iii, pp. 304-323), together with the facts collected by travellers among the North American Indians, and the mass of curious information supplied by Rosenbaum in his *Geschichte der Lust-seuche im Alterthume*, makes it clear to my mind that the unisexual vices of barbarians follow, not the type of Greek paiderastia, but that of the Scythian θήλεια νόσος, or disease of effeminacy, described by Herodotus and Hippocrates as something essentially foreign and non-Hellenic. In all these cases, whether we regard the Scythian ἀνανδρίεις, or impotent effeminates, the North American Bardashes, the Tsecats of Madagascar, the Cordaches of the Canadian Indians, and similar classes among Californian Indians, natives of Venezuela, and so forth—the characteristic point is that effeminate males renounce their sex, assume female clothes, and live either in promiscuous concubinage with the men of the tribe or else in marriage with chosen persons. This abandonment of the masculine attributes and habits, this assumption of feminine duties and costume, would have been abhorrent to the Doric custom. Precisely similar effeminacies were recognised as pathological by Herodotus, to whom Greek paiderastia was familiar. The distinctive feature of Dorian comradeship was that it remained on both sides masculine, tolerating no sort of softness. For similar reasons, what we know about the prevalence of sodomy among the primitive peoples of Mexico, Peru and Yucatan, and almost all half-savage nations,[1] throws little light upon the subject of the present inquiry. Nor do we gain anything of importance from the semi-religious practices of Japanese Bonzes or Egyptian priests. Such facts, taken in connection with

[1] It appears from the reports of travellers that this form of passion is not common among those African tribes who have not been corrupted by Mussulmans or Europeans.

abundant modern experience of what are called unnatural vices, only prove the universality of unisexual indulgence in all parts of the world and under all conditions of society. Considerable psychological interest attaches to the study of these sexual aberrations. It is also true that we detect in them the germ or raw material of a custom which the Dorians moralised or developed after a specific fashion; but nowhere do we find an analogue to their peculiar institutions. It was just that effort to moralise and adapt to social use a practice which has elsewhere been excluded in the course of civil growth, or has been allowed to linger half-acknowledged as a remnant of more primitive conditions, or has reappeared in the corruption of society; it was just this effort to elevate paiderastia according to the æsthetic standard of Greek ethics which constituted its distinctive quality in Hellas. We are obliged, in fact, to separate this, the true Hellenic manifestation of the paiderastic passion, from the effeminacies, brutalities and gross sensualities which can be noticed alike in imperfectly civilised and in luxuriously corrupt communities.

Before leaving this part of the subject, I must repeat that what I have suggested regarding the intervention of the Dorians in creating the type of Greek love is a pure speculation. If it has any value, that is due to the fixed and regulated forms which paiderastic institutions displayed at a very early date in Crete and Sparta, and also to the remnants of savage customs embedded in them. It depends to a certain extent also upon the absence of paiderastia in Homer. But on this point something still remains to be said. Our Attic authorities certainly regarded the Homeric poems as canonical books, decisive for the culture of the first stage of Hellenic history. Yet it is clear that Homer refined Greek mythology, while many of the cruder elements of that mythology survived from pre-Homeric times in local cults and popular religious observances. We know, moreover, that a body of non-Homeric writings, commonly called the cyclic poems, existed by the side of Homer, some of the material of which is preserved to us by dramatists, lyrists, historians, antiquaries and anecdotists. It is not impossible that this so-called cyclical literature contained paiderastic elements, which were elimi-

nated, like the grosser forms of myth in the Homeric poems.[1] If this be conceded, we might be led to conjecture that paiderastia was a remnant of ancient savage habits, ignored by Homer, but preserved by tradition in the race. Given the habit, the Greeks were certainly capable of carrying it on without shame. We ought to resist the temptation to seek a high and noble origin for all Greek institutions. But there remains the fact that, however they acquired the habit, whether from North Dorian customs antecedent to Homer or from conditions of experience subsequent to the Homeric age, the Greeks gave it a dignity and an emotional superiority which is absent in the annals of barbarian institutions. Instead of abandoning it as part of the obsolete lumber of their prehistoric origins, they chose to elaborate it into the region of romance and ideality. And this they did in spite of Homer's ignorance of the passion, or of his deliberate reticence. Whatever view, therefore, we may take about Homer's silence, and about the possibility of paiderastia occurring in lost poems of the cyclic type, or, lastly, about its probable survival in the people from an age of savagery, we are bound to regard its systematical development among the Dorians as a fact of paramount significance.

In that passage of the *Symposium*[2] where Plato notices the Spartan law of love as ποικίλος, he speaks with disapprobation of the Bœotians, who were not restrained by custom and opinion within the same strict limits. Yet it should here be noted that the military aspect of Greek love in the historic period was nowhere more distinguished than at Thebes. Epaminondas was a notable boy-lover; and the names of his beloved, Asopichus and Cephisodorus, are mentioned by Plutarch.[3] They died, and were buried with him at Mantinea. The paiderastic legend of Herakles and Iolaus was localised in Bœotia; and the lovers, Diocles and Philolaus, who gave laws to Thebes, directly encouraged those masculine attachments which had their origin in the Palæstra.[4] The practical out-

[1] It may be plausibly argued that Æschylus drew the subject of his *Myrmidones* from some such non-Homeric epic. See below, Section XII.

[2] 182 A. Cp. *Laws*, i, 636.

[3] *Eroticus*, xvii, p. 761, 34.

[4] See Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, Clough, vol. ii, p. 219.

come of these national institutions in the chief town of Bœotia was the formation of the so-called Sacred Band, or Band of Lovers, upon whom Pelopidas relied in his most perilous operations. Plutarch relates that they were enrolled, in the first instance, by Gorgidas, the rank and file of the regiment being composed of young men bound together by affection. Report goes that they were never beaten till the battle of Chæronea. At the end of that day, fatal to the liberties of Hellas, Philip of Macedon went forth to view the slain; and when he "came to that place where the three hundred that fought his phalanx lay dead together, he wondered, and understanding that it was the band of lovers, he shed tears, and said, 'Perish any man who suspects that these men either did or suffered anything that was base'".[1] As at all the other turning-points of Greek history, so at this, too, there is something dramatic and eventful. Thebes was the last stronghold of Greek freedom; the Sacred Band contained the pith and flower of her army; these lovers had fallen to a man, like the Spartans of Leonidas at Thermopylæ, pierced by the lances of the Macedonian phalanx; then, when the day was over and the dead were silent, Philip, the victor in that fight, shed tears when he beheld their serried ranks, pronouncing himself therewith the fittest epitaph which could have been inscribed upon their stelë by a Hellene.

At Chæronea, Greek liberty, Greek heroism, and Greek love, properly so called, expired. It is not unworthy of notice that the son of the conqueror, young Alexander, endeavoured to revive the tradition of Achilleian friendship. This lad, born in the decay of Greek liberty, took conscious pleasure in enacting the part of a Homeric hero on the altered stage of Hellas and of Asia, with somewhat tawdry histrionic pomp.[2] Homer was his invariable companion upon his marches; in the Troad he paid special honour to the tomb of Achilles, running naked races round the barrow in honour of the hero, and expressing the envy which he felt for one who had so true a friend and so renowned a poet to

[1] Clough, as quoted above, p. 219.

[2] The connection of the royal family of Macedon by descent with the Æacidæ, and the early settlement of the Dorians in Macedonia, are noticeable.

record his deeds. The historians of his life relate that, while he was indifferent to women,[1] he was φιλόπαις ἐκμανως, madly given to the love of males. This the story of his sorrow for Hephaistion sufficiently confirms. A kind of spiritual atavism moved the Macedonian conqueror to assume on the vast Bactrian plain the outward trappings of Achilles Agonistes.[2]

Returning from this digression upon Alexander's almost hysterical archaism, it should next be noticed that Plato includes the people of Elis in the censure which he passes upon the Bœotians. He accuses the Eleans of adopting customs which permitted youths to gratify their lovers without further distinction of age, or quality, or opportunity. In like manner Maximus Tyrius distinguishes between the customs of Crete and Elis: "While I find the laws of the Cretans excellent, I must condemn those of Elis for their license."[3] Elis,[4] like Megara, instituted a contest for beauty among youths; and it is significant that the Megarians were not uncommonly accused of ὕβρις or wanton lust, by Greek writers. Both the Eleans and the Megarians may therefore reasonably be considered to have exceeded the Greek standard of taste in the amount of sensual indulgence which they openly acknowledged. In Ionia and other regions of Hellas exposed to Oriental influences, Plato says that paiderastia was accounted a disgrace.[5] At the same time he couples with paiderastia in this place both φιλογυμνασία and φιλοσοφία, addiction to gymnastic exercise and to philosophical studies, pointing out that despotism was always hostile to high thoughts and haughty customs. The meaning of the passage, therefore, seems to be that the true type of Greek love had no chance of unfolding itself freely on the shores of

[1] Cf. Athenæus, x, 435.

[2] Hadrian in Rome, at a later period, revived the Greek tradition, with even more of caricature. His military ardour, patronage of art, and love for Antinous seem to hang together.

[3] *Dissert.*, xxvi, 8.

[4] See Athen., xiii, 609, F. The prize was armour and the wreath of myrtle.

[5] *Symp.* 182, B. In the *Laws*, however, he mentions the Barbarians as corrupting Greek morality in this respect. We have here a further proof that it was the noble type of love which the Barbarians discouraged. For μαλακία they had no dislike.

Asia Minor. Of paiderastic *μαλακία*, or effeminacy, there is here no question, else Plato would probably have made Pausanias use other language.

XI.

Before proceeding to discuss the conditions under which paiderastia existed in Athens, it may be well to pause and to consider the tone adopted with regard to it by some of the earlier Greek poets. Much that is interesting on the subject of the true Hellenic Erôs can be gathered from Theognis, Solon, Pindar, Æschylus, and Sophocles; while the lyrics of Anacreon, Alcæus, Ibycus, and others of the same period illustrate the wanton and illiberal passion (*ὕβρις*) which tended to corrode and undermine the nobler feeling.

It is well-known that Theognis and his friend Kurnus were members of the aristocracy of Megara. After Megara had thrown off the yoke of Corinth in the early part of the sixth century, the city first submitted to the democratic despotism of Theagenes, and then for many years engaged in civil warfare. The large number of the elegies of Theognis are specially intended to instruct Kurnus how he ought to act as an illustrious party-leader of the nobles (*ἐσθλοί*) in their contest with the people (*δειλοί*). They consist, therefore, of political and social precepts, and for our present purpose are only important as illustrating the educational authority assumed by a Dorian *φιλήτωρ* over his friend. The personal elegies intermingled with these poems on conduct reveal the very heart of a Greek lover at his early period. Here is one on loyalty:—

μή μ' ἔπεσιν μὲν στέργε νόον δ ἔχε καὶ φρένας ἄλλας,
εἴ με φιλεῖς καί σοι πιστὸς ἔνεστι νόος,
ἀλλὰ φίλει καθαρὸν θέμενος νόον ἢ μ' ἀποειπὼν
ἔχθαιρ', ἀμφαδίην νεῖκος ἀειράμενος.
ὃς δὲ μιῇ γλώσσῃ δίχ' ἔχει νόον οὗτος ἑταῖρος
δειλός, Κύρν', ἐχθρὸς βέλτερος ἢ φίγος ὤν.[1]

"Love me not with words alone, while your mind and thoughts are otherwise, if you really care for me and the heart within you is loyal.

[1] Bergk., *Poetæ Lyrica Græci*, vol. ii, p. 490, line 87 of Theognis.

But love me with a pure and honest soul, or openly disown and hate me; let the breach between us be avowed. He who hath a single tongue and a double mind is a bad comrade, Kurnus, better as a foe than a friend."

The bitter-sweet of love is well described in the following couplets :—

πικρὸς καὶ γλυκύς ἐστι καὶ ἁρπαλέος καὶ ἀπηνής
ὄφρα τέλειος ἔῃ, Κύρνε, νέοισιν ἔρως·
ἢν μὲν γὰρ τελέσῃ, γλυκὺ γίνεται· ἢν δὲ διώκων
μὴ τελέσῃ, πάντων τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον.[1]

"Harsh and sweet, alluring and repellent, until it be crowned with completion, is love for young men. If one brings it to perfection, then it is sweet; but if a man pursues and does not love, then it is of all things the most painful."

The same strain is repeated in the lines which begin παιδὸς ἔρως καλὸς μὲν ἔχειν καλὸς δ' ἀποθέσθαι,[2] "a boy's love is fair to keep, fair to lay aside". At one time Theognis tells his friend that he has the changeable temper of a hawk, the skittishness of a pampered colt.[3] At another he remarks that boys are more constant than women in their affection.[4] His passion rises to its noblest height in a poem which deserves to rank with some of Shakespeare's sonnets, and which, like them, has fulfilled its own promise of immortality.[5] In order to appreciate the value of the fame conferred on Kurnus by Theognis and celebrated in such lofty strains, we must remember that these elegies were sung at banquets. "The fair young men", of whom the poet speaks, boy-lovers themselves, chaunted the praise of Kurnus to the sound of flutes, while the cups went round or the lyre was passed from hand to hand of merrymaking guests. A subject to which Theognis more than once refers is calumny :—

πολλάκι τοι παρ' ἐμοὶ κατὰ σοῦ γέξουσι μάταια
καὶ παρὰ σοὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ· τῶν δὲ σὺ μὴ ξύνιε.[6]

"Often will the folk speak vain things against thee in my ears, and against me in thine. Pay thou no heed to them."

Again, he frequently reminds the boy he loves, whether it be Kurnus or some other, that the bloom of youth is passing,

[1] *Ibid.*, line 1353.
[2] *Ibid.*, line 1369.
[3] *Ibid.*, lines 1259-1270.
[4] *Ibid.*, line 1267.
[5] *Ibid.*, lines 237-254. Translated by me in *Vagabunduli Libellus*, p. 167.
[6] Bergk., *Poetæ Lyrici Græci*, vol. ii, line 1,239.

and that this is a reason for showing kindness.[1] This argument is urged with what appears like coarseness in the following couplet :—

ὦ παῖ, ἕως ἂν ἔχῃς λείαν γέννυν, οὔποτε σαίνων
παύσομαι, οὐδ' εἴ μοι μόρσιμόν ἐστι θανεῖν.[2]

"O boy, so long as thy chin remains smooth, never will I cease from fawning, no, not if it is doomed for me to die."

A couplet, which is also attributed to Solon, shows that paiderastia at this time in Greece was associated with manly sports and pleasures :—

ὄλβιος ᾧ παῖδές τε φίλοι καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι
θηρευταί τε κύνες καὶ ξένοι ἀλλοδαποί.[3]

"Blest is the man who loves brave steeds of war,
Fair boys, and hounds, and stranger guests from far."

Nor must the following be omitted :—

ὄλβιος ὅστις ἐρῶν γυμνάζεται, οἴκαδε δ' ἐλθών
εὕδει σὺν καλῷ παιδὶ πανημέριος.[4]

"Blest is the man who loves, and after play,
Whereby his limbs are supple made and strong,
Retiring to his home, 'twixt sleep and song,
Sports with a fair boy on his breast all day."

The following couplet is attributed to him by Plutarch,[5] nor does there seem any reason to doubt its genuineness :—

ἔσθ' ἥβης ἐρατοῖσιν ἐπ' ἄνθεσι παιδοφιλήσῃ
μηρῶν ἱμείρων καὶ γλυκεροῦ στόματος.

The text seems to be corrupt, but the meaning is pretty clear :

"In the charming season of the flower-time of youth thou shalt love boys, yearning for their thighs and honeyed mouth."

Solon, it may be remembered, thought it wise to regulate the conditions under which the love of free youths might be tolerated.

The general impression produced by a careful reading of

[1] *Ibid.*, line 1,304.
[2] *Ibid.*, line 1,327.
[3] *Ibid.*, line 1,253.
[4] *Ibid.*, line 1,335.
[5] *Eroticus*, cap. v, p. 751, 21. See Bergk., vol. ii, p. 430.

Theognis is that he entertained a genuine passion for Kurnus, and that he was anxious to train the young man's mind in what he judged the noblest principles. Love, at the same time, except in its more sensual moments, he describes as bitter-sweet and subject to anxiety. That perturbation of the emotions which is inseparable from any of the deeper forms of personal attachment, and which the necessary conditions of boy-love exasperated, was irksome to the Greek. It is not a little curious to observe how all the poets of the despotic age resent and fret against the force of their own feeling, differing herein from the singers of chivalry, who idealised the very pains of passion.

Of Ibycus, who was celebrated among the ancients as the lyrist of paiderastia,[1] very little has been preserved to us, but that little is sufficient to indicate the fervid and voluptuous style of his art. His imagery resembles that of Anacreon. The onset of love, for instance, in one fragment is compared to the down-swooping of a Thracian whirlwind; in another the poet trembles at the approach of Erôs like an old race-horse who is dragged forth to prove his speed once more.

Of the genuine Anacreon we possess more numerous and longer fragments, and the names of his favourites, Cleobulus, Smerdies, Leucaspis, are famous. The general tone of his love-poems is relaxed and Oriental, and his language abounds in phrases indicative of sensuality. The following may be selected:[2]—

Κλευβούλου μὲν ἔγωγ' ἐρῶ,
Κλευβούλου δ' ἐπιμαίνομαι,
Κλεύβουλον δὲ διοσκέω.

"Cleobulus I love, for Cleobulus I am mad, Cleobulus I watch and worship with my gaze."

Again—

ὦ παῖ παρθένιον βλέπων,
δίζημαί σε, σὺ δ' οὐ κίεις,
οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι τῆς ἐμῆς
ψυχῆς ἡνιοχεύεις.

"O boy, with the maiden's eyes, I seek and follow thee, but thou heedest not, nor knowest that thou art my soul's charioteer."

[1] See Cic., *Tusc.*, iv, 33.

[2] Bergk., vol. iii, p. 1,013.

In another place he speaks of[1]—

ἔρως παρθένιος πόθῳ
στίλβων καὶ γεγανωμένος.

"Love, the virginal, gleaming and radiant with desire."

Συνηβᾶν, to pass the time of youth with friends, is a word which Anacreon may be said to have made current in Greek. It occurs twice in his fragments,[2] and exactly expresses the luxurious enjoyment of youthful grace and beauty which appear to have been his ideal of love. We are very far here from the Achilleian friendship of the *Iliad*. Yet occasionally Anacreon uses images of great force to describe the attack of passion, as when he says that love has smitten him with a huge axe and plunged him in a wintry torrent.[3]

It must be remembered that both Anacreon and Ibycus were court poets, singing in the palaces of Polycrates and Hippias. The youths they celebrated were probably but little better than the *exoleti* of a Roman Emperor.[4] This cannot be said exactly of Alcæus, whose love for black-eyed Lycus was remembered by Cicero and Horace. So little, however, is left of his erotic poems that no definite opinion can be formed about them. The authority of later Greek authors justifies our placing him upon the list of those who helped to soften and emasculate the character of Greek love by their poems.[5]

Two Athenian drinking-songs preserved by Athenæus,[6] which seem to bear the stamp of the lyric age, may here be quoted. They serve to illustrate the kind of feeling to which expression was given in public by friends and boy-lovers:[7]—

εἴθε λύρα καλὴ γενοίμην ἐλεφαντίνη,
καί με καλοὶ παῖδες φέροιεν Διονύσιον ἐς χορόν.

"Would I were a lovely heap of ivory, and that lovely boys carried me into the Dionysian chorus."

This is marked by a very delicate though naïf fancy. The

[1] Bergk., vol. iii, p. 1,045.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1,109, 1,023; fr. 24, 46.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 1,023; fr. 48.
[4] Maximus Tyrius, *Dissert.*, xxvi, says that Smerdies was a Thracian, given, for his great beauty, by his Greek captors to Polycrates.
[5] See what Agathon says in the *Thesmophoriazuse* of Aristophanes.
[6] xv, 695.
[7] Bergk, vol. iii, p. 1,293.

next is no less eminent for its sustained, impassioned, simple, rhythmic feeling—

σύν μοι πῖνε, συννήβα, συνέρα, συστεφανηφόρει,
σύν μοι μαινομένῳ μαίνεο, σὺν σώφρονι σωφρόνει.

"Drink with me, be young with me, love with me, wear crowns with me, with me when I am mad be mad, with me when I am temperate be sober."

The greatest poet of the lyric age, the lyrist *par excellence*, Pindar, adds much to our conception of Greek love at this period. Not only is the poem to Theoxenos, whom he loved, and in whose arms he is said to have died in the theatre at Argos, one of the most splendid achievements of his art;[1] but its choice of phrase, and the curious parallel which it draws between the free love of boys and the servile love of women, help us to comprehend the serious intensity of this passion. Ἀκτῖνας *προσώπου μαρμαριζούσας* and *πόθῳ κυμαίνεται* and *παίδων νέογνιον ἥβαν*, "the flashing rays of his forehead" and "is storm-tossed with desire," and "the young-limbed bloom of boys," are phrases which it is impossible adequately to translate. So, too, are the images by which the heart of him who does not feel the beauty of Theoxenos is said to have been forged with cold fire out of adamant, while the poet himself is compared to wax wasting under the sun's rays. In Pindar, passing from Ibycus and Anacreon, we ascend at once into a purer and more healthful atmosphere, fraught, indeed, with passion and pregnant with storm, but no longer simply sensual. Taken as a whole, the Odes of Pindar, composed for the most part in the honour of young men and boys, both beautiful and strong, are the work of a great moralist as well as a great artist. He never fails to teach by precept and example; he does not, as Ibycus is reported to have done, adorn his verse with legends of Ganymede and Tithonus, for the sake of insinuating compliments. Yet no one shared in fuller measure the Greek admiration for health and grace and vigour of limb. This is obvious in the many radiant pictures of masculine perfection he has drawn, as well as in the images by which he loves to bring the beauty-bloom of youth to mind. The true Hellenic spirit may be better studied in Pindar than in any other poet of his age; and

[1] *Ibid.*, vol i, p. 327.

after we have weighed his high morality, sound counsel, and reverence for all things good, together with the passion he avows, we shall have done something toward comprehending the inner nature of Greek love.

XII.

The treatment of paiderastia upon the Attic stage requires separate consideration. Nothing proves the popular acceptance and national approval of Greek love more forcibly to modern minds than the fact that tragedians like Æschylus and Sophocles made it the subject of their dramas. From a notice in Athenæus it appears that Stesichorus, who first gave dramatic form to lyric poetry, composed interludes upon paiderastic subjects.[1] But of these it is impossible to speak, since their very titles have been lost. What immediately follows, in the narrative of Athenæus, will serve as text for what I have to say upon this topic: καὶ Αἰσχύλος μέγας ὢν ποιητὴς καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἦγον εἰς τὰ θέατρα διὰ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν ἀρσενικοὺς ἔρωτας· διὸ καὶ παιδεραστάν τινες καλουσι τὴν τραγῳδιὰν, καὶ ἐκδέχονται τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄσματα οἱ θεαταί. "And Aeschylus, that mighty poet, and Sophocles brought masculine loves into the theatre through their tragedies. Wherefore some are wont to call tragedy a paiderast; and the spectators welcome such." Nothing, unfortunately, remains of the plays which justified this language but a few fragments cited by Aristophanes, Plutarch, Lucian, and Athenæus. To examine these will be the business of this section.

The tragedy of the *Myrmidones*, which formed part of a trilogy by Æschylus upon the legend of Achilles, must have been popular at Athens, for Aristophanes quotes it no less than four times—twice in the *Frogs*, once in the *Birds*, and once in the *Ecclesiazusæ*. We can reconstruct its general plan from the lines which have come down to us on the authority of the writers above mentioned.[2] The play opened with an anapæstic speech of the chorus, composed of the clansmen of Achilles, who upbraided him for staying idle in his tent while

[1] Athen., xiii, 601 A.

[2] See the fragments of the *Myrmidones* in the *Poetæ Scenici Græci*. My interpretration of them is, of course, conjectural.

the Achaians suffered at the hands of Hector. Achilles replied with the metaphor of the eagle stricken by an arrow winged from one of his own feathers. Then the embassy of Phœnix arrived, and Patroclus was sent forth to battle. Achilles, meanwhile, engaged in a game of dice; and while he was thus employed Antilochus entered with the news of the death of Patroclus. The next fragment brings the whole scene vividly before our eyes.

> Ἀντίλοχ' ἀποίμωξόν με τοῦ τεθνηκότος
> τὸν ζῶντα μᾶλλον.

"Wail for me, Antilochus, rather than for the dead man—for me, Achilles, who still live." After this, the corpse of Patroclus was brought upon the stage, and the son of Peleus poured forth a lamentation over his friend. The *Threnos* of Achilles on this occasion was very celebrated among the ancients. One passage of unmeasured passion, which described the love which subsisted between the two heroes, has been quoted with varieties of reading by Lucian, Plutarch, and Athenæus.[1] Lucian says: *στένων γοῦν Ἀχιλλεὺς τὸν Πατρόκλου θάνατον ἀταμιεύτῳ πάθει πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀπερράγη.* "Achilles, bewailing the death of Patroclus with unhusbanded passion, broke forth into the truth in self-abandonment to woe." Athenæus gives the text as follows—

> *σέβας δὲ μηρῶν ἁγνὸν οὐκ ἐπηδέσω,*
> *ὦ δυσχάριστε τῶν πυκνῶν φιλημάτων.*

"Hadst thou no reverence for the unsullied holiness of thighs, O thou ungrateful for the showers of kisses given."

What we have here chiefly to notice, is the change which the tale of Achilles had undergone since Homer.[2] Homer represented Patroclus as older in years than the son of Peleus, but inferior to him in station; nor did he hint which of the friends was the *ἐραστής* of the other. That view of their comradeship had not occurred to him. Æschylus makes Achilles the lover; and for this distortion of the Homeric legend he was severely criticised by Plato.[3] At the same

[1] Lucian, *Amores;* Plutarch, *Eroticus;* Althenæus, xiii, 602, E.

[2] Possibly Æschylus drew his fable from a non-Homeric source, but if so, it is curious that Plato should only refer to Homer.

[3] *Symph.*, 180 A., Αἰσχύλος δὲ φλυαρεῖ κ.τ.λ. Xenophon, *Symph.*, 8,

time, as the two lines quoted from the *Threnos* prove, he treated their affection from the point of view of post-Homeric paiderastia.

Sophocles also wrote a play upon the legend of Achilles, which bears for its title Ἀχιλλέως ἐρασταί, Achilles' Loves. Very little is left of this drama; but Hesychius has preserved one phrase which illustrates the Greek notion that love was an effluence from the beloved person through the eyes into the lover's soul,[1] while Stobæus quotes the beautiful simile by which love is compared to a piece of ice held in the hand by children.[2] Another play of Sophocles, the *Niobe*, is alluded to by Plutarch and by Athenæus for the paiderastia which it contained. Plutarch's words are these:[3] τῶν τοῦ Σοφοκλέους Νιοβιδῶν βαλλομένων καὶ θνησκόντων ἀνακαλεῖταί τις οὐδένα βοηθὸν ἄλλον οὐδὲ σύμμαχον ἢ τὸν ἐραστὴν ὦ ἀμφ' ἐμου στεῖλαι. "When the children of Niobe, in Sophocles, are being pierced and dying, one of them cries out, appealing to no other rescuer or ally than his lover: Ho! comrade, up and aid me!" Finally, Athenæus quotes a single line from the *Colchian Women* of Sophocles, which alludes to Ganymede, and runs as follows:[4] μηροῖς ὑπαίθων τὴν Διὸς τυραννίδα, "Inflaming with his thighs the royalty of Zeus."

Whether Euripides treated paiderastia directly in any of his plays is not quite certain, though the title *Chrysippus* and one fragment preserved from that tragedy:

γνώμην ἔχοντά μ' ἡ φύσις βιάζεται:
"Nature constrains me though I have sound judgment:"

justify us in believing that he made the crime of Laius his subject. It may be added that a passage in Cicero confirms this belief.[5] The title of another tragedy, *Peirithous*, seems in like manner to point at friendship; while a beautiful quotation from the *Dictys* sufficiently indicates the high moral tone assumed by Euripides in treating of Greek love. It

31, points out that in Homer Achilles avenged the death of Patroclus, not as his lover, but as his comrade in arms.

[1] Cf. Eurid., *Hippol.*, l., 525; Plato, *Phædr.*, p. 255; Max. Tyr., *Dissert.*, xxv, 2.

[2] See *Poetæ Scenici, Fragments of Sophocles.*

[3] *Eroticus*, p. 760, E. [4] Ath. p. 602. E. [5] *Tusc.*, iv, 33.

runs as follows: "He was my friend; and never may love lead me to folly, nor to Kupris. There is, in truth, another kind of love—love for the soul, righteous, temperate, and good. Surely men ought to have made this law, that only the temperate and chaste should love, and send Kupris, daughter of Zeus, a-begging." The philosophic ideal of comradeship is here vitalised by the dramatic vigour of the poet; nor has the Hellenic conception of pure affection for

ψυχῆς δικαίας σώφρονός τε κἀγαθῆς,

"a soul, just, upright, temperate and good," been elsewhere more pithily expressed. The Euripidean conception of friendship, it may further be observed, is nobly personified in Pylades, who plays a generous and self-devoted part in the three tragedies of *Electra*, *Orestes*, and *Iphigenia in Tauris*.

Having collected these notices of tragedies which dealt with boy-love, it may be well to add a word upon comedies in the same relation. We hear of a *Paidika* by Sophron, a *Malthakoi* by the older Cratinus, a *Baptæ* by Empolis, in which Alcibiades and his society were satirised. *Paiderastes* is the title of plays by Diphilus and Antiphanes; *Ganymedes* of plays of Alkaeus, Antiphanes and Eubulus.

What has been quoted from Æschylus and Sophocles sufficiently establishes the fact that paiderastia was publicly received with approbation on the tragic stage. This should make us cautious in rejecting the stories which are told about the love adventures of Sophocles.[1] Athenæus calls him φιλομείραξ, a lover of lads, nor is it strange if, in the age of Pericles, and while he was producing the Ἀχιλλέως ἐρασταί, he should have shared the tastes of which his race approved.

At this point it may be as well to mention a few illustrious names, which to the student of Greek art and literature are indissolubly connected with paiderastia. Parmenides, whose life, like that of Pythagoras, was accounted peculiarly holy, loved his pupil Zeno.[2] Pheidias loved Pantarkes, a youth of Elis, and carved his portrait in the figure of a victorious

[1] See Athenæus, xiii, pp. 604, 605, for two very outspoken stories about Sophocles at Chios and apparently at Athens. In 582, e, he mentions one of the boys beloved by Sophocles, a certain Demophon.

[2] Plato, *Parm.*, 127 A.

athlete at the foot of the Olympian Zeus.[1] Euripides is said to have loved the adult Agathon. Lysias, Demosthenes, and Æschines, orators whose conduct was open to the most searching censure of malicious criticism, did not scruple to avow their love. Socrates described his philosophy as the science of erotics. Plato defined the highest form of human existence to be φιλοσοφία μετὰ παιδεραστίας, "philosophy together with paiderastia," and composed the celebrated epigrams on Aster and on Agathon. This list might be indefinitely lengthened.

XIII.

Before proceeding to collect some notes upon the state of paiderastia at Athens, I will recapitulate the points which I have already attempted to establish. In the first place, paiderastia was unknown to Homer.[2] Secondly, soon after the heroic age, two forms of paiderastia appeared in Greece —the one chivalrous and martial, which received a formal organisation in the Dorian states; the other sensual and lustful, which, though localised to some extent at Crete, pervaded the Greek cities like a vice. Of the distinction between these two loves the Greek conscience was well aware, though they came in course of time to be confounded. Thirdly, I traced the character of Greek love, using that term to indicate masculine affection of a permanent and enthusiastic temper, without further ethical qualification, in early Greek history and in the institutions of Dorians. In the fourth place, I showed what kind of treatment it received at the hands of the elegiac, lyric, and tragic poets.

It now remains to draw some picture of the social life of the Athenians in so far as paiderastia is concerned, and to prove how Plato was justified in describing Attic customs on this

[1] Pausanias, v, 11, and see Meier, p. 159, note 93.

[2] This, by the way, is a strong argument against the theory that the *Iliad* was a post-Herodotean poem. A poet in the age of Pisistratus or Pericles would not have omitted paiderastia from his view of life, and could not have told the myth of Ganymede as Homer tells it. It is doubtful whether he could have preserved the pure outlines of the story of Patroclus.

point as ποικίλοι or qualified by important restriction and distinction.

I do not know a better way of opening this inquiry, which must by its nature be fragmentary and disconnected, than by transcribing what Plato puts into the mouth of Pausanias in the *Symposium*.[1] After observing that the paiderastic customs of Elis and Bœotia involved no perplexity, inasmuch as all concessions to the god of love were tolerated, and that such customs did not exist in any despotic states, he proceeds to Athens.

"There is yet a more excellent way of legislating about them, which is our own way; but this, as I was saying, is rather perplexing. For observe that open loves are held to be more honourable than secret ones, and that the love of the noblest and highest, even if their persons are less beautiful than others, is especially honourable. Consider, too, how great is the encouragement which all the world gives to the lover; neither is he supposed to be doing anything dishonourable; but if he succeeds he is praised, and if he fail he is blamed. And in the pursuit of his love the custom of mankind allows him to do many strange things, which philosophy would bitterly censure if they were done from any motive of interest or wish for office or power. He may pray and entreat, and supplicate and swear, and be a servant of servants, and lie on a mat at the door; in any other case friends and enemies would be equally ready to prevent him, but now there is no friend who will be ashamed of him and admonish him, and no enemy will charge him with meanness or flattery; the actions of a lover have a grace which ennobles them, and custom has decided that they are highly commendable, and that there is no loss of character in them; and, what is strangest of all, he only may swear or forswear himself (this is what the world says), and the gods will forgive his transgression, for there is no such thing as a lover's oath. Such is the entire liberty which gods and men have allowed the lover, according to the custom which prevails in our part of the world. From this point of view a man fairly argues that in Athens to love and to be loved is held to be a very honourable thing. But when there is another regime, and parents forbid their sons to talk with their lovers, and place them under a tutor's care, and their companions and equals cast in their teeth anything of this sort which they may observe, and their elders refuse to silence the reprovers, and do not rebuke them, any one who reflects on all this will, on the contrary, think that we hold these practices to be most disgraceful. But the truth, as I imagine, and as I said at first, is, that whether such practices are honourable or whether they are dishonourable is not a simple

[1] Page 182, Jowett's trans. Mr. Jowett censures this speech as sophistic and confused in view. It is precisely on this account that it is valuable. The confusion indicates the obscure conscience of the Athenians. The sophistry is the result of a half-acknowledged false position.

question; they are honourable to him who follows them honourably, dishonourable to him who follows them dishonourably. There is dishonour in yielding to the evil, or in an evil manner; but there is honour in yielding to the good, or in an honourable manner. Evil is the vulgar lover who loves the body rather than the soul, and who is inconstant because he is a lover of the inconstant, and, therefore, when the bloom of youth, which he was desiring, is over, takes wing and flies away, in spite of all his words and promises; whereas the love of the noble mind, which is one with the unchanging, is life-long."

Pausanias then proceeds, at considerable length, to describe how the custom of Athens required deliberate choice and trial of character as a condition of honourable love; how it repudiated hasty and ephemeral attachments and engagements formed with the object of money-making or political aggrandisement; how love on both sides was bound to be disinterested, and what accession both of dignity and beauty the passion of friends obtained from the pursuit of philosophy and from the rendering of mutual services upon the path of virtuous conduct.

This sufficiently indicates, in general terms, the moral atmosphere in which Greek love flourished at Athens. In an earlier part of his speech Pausanias, after dwelling upon the distinction between the two kinds of Aphrodite, heavenly and vulgar, describes the latter in a way which proves that the love of boys was held to be ethically superior to that of women.[1]

"The Love who is the offspring of the common Aphrodite is essentially common, and has no discrimination, being such as the meaner sort of men feel, and is apt to be of women as well as of youths, and is of the body rather than the soul; the most foolish beings are the objects of this love, which desires only to gain an end, but never thinks of accomplishing the end nobly, and therefore does good and evil quite indiscriminately. The goddess who is his mother is far younger than the other, and she was born of the union of the male and female, and partakes of both."

Then he turns to the Uranian love.

"The offspring of the heavenly Aphrodite is derived from a mother in whose birth the female has no part. She is from the male only; this is that love which is of youths, and the goddess being older, has nothing of wantonness. Those who are inspired by this love turn to the male, and delight in him who is the most valiant and intelligent nature; any one may recognise the pure enthusiasts in the very character of their attach-

[1] Page 181, Jowett's trans.

ments; for they love not boys, but intelligent beings whose reason is beginning to be developed, much about the time at which their beards begin to grow. And in choosing them as their companions they mean to be faithful to them, and pass their whole life in company with them, not to take them in their inexperience, and deceive them, and play the fool with them, or run away from one to another of them. But the love of young boys should be forbidden by law, because their future is uncertain; they may turn out good or bad, either in body or soul, and much noble enthusiasm may be thrown away upon them; in this matter the good are a law to themselves, and the coarser sort of lovers ought to be restrained by force, as we restrain or attempt to restrain them from fixing their affections on women of free birth."

These long quotations from a work accessible to every reader may require apology. My excuse for giving them must be that they express in pure Athenian diction a true Athenian view of this matter. The most salient characteristics of the whole speech are, first, the definition of a code of honour, distinguishing the nobler from the baser forms of paiderastia; secondly, the decided preference of male over female love; thirdly, the belief in the possibility of permanent affection between paiderastic friends; and, fourthly, the passing allusion to rules of domestic surveillance under which Athenian boys were placed. To the first of these points I shall have to return on another occasion. With regard to the second, it is sufficient for the present purpose to remember that free Athenian women were comparatively uneducated and uninteresting, and that the hetairai had proverbially bad manners. While men transacted business and enjoyed life in public, their wives and daughters stayed in the seclusion of the household, conversing to a great extent with slaves, and ignorant of nearly all that happened in the world around them. They were treated throughout their lives as minors by the law, nor could they dispose by will of more than the worth of a bushel of barley. It followed that marriages at Athens were usually matches of arrangement between the fathers of the bride and the bridegroom, and that the motives which induced a man to marry were less the desire for companionship than the natural wish for children and a sense of duty to the country.[1] Demosthenes, in his

[1] See the curious passages in Plato, *Symp.*, p. 192; Plutarch, *Erot.*, p. 751; and Lucian, *Amores*, c. 38.

speech against Neæra, declares:[1] "We have courtesans for our pleasures, concubines for the requirements of the body, and wives for the procreation of lawful issue." If he had been speaking at a drinking-party, instead of before a jury, he might have added, "and young men for intellectual companions".

The fourth point which I have noted above requires more illustration, since its bearing on the general condition of Athenian society is important. Owing to the prevalence of paiderastia, a boy was exposed in Athens to dangers which are comparatively unknown in our great cities, and which rendered special supervision necessary. It was the custom for fathers, when they did not themselves accompany their sons,[2] to commit them to the care of slaves chosen usually among the oldest and most trustworthy. The duty of the παιδαγωγὸς, or attendant guardian, was not to instruct the boy, but to preserve him from the addresses of importunate lovers or from such assaults as Peisthetærus in the *Birds* of Aristophanes describes.[3] He followed his charge to the school and the gymnasium, and was responsible for bringing him home at the right hour. Thus at the end of the *Lysis* we read:[4]

"Suddenly we were interrupted by the tutors of Lysis and Menexenus, who came upon us like an evil apparition with their brothers, and bade them go home, as it was getting late. At first, we and the bystanders drove them off; but afterwards, as they would not mind, and only went on shouting in their barbarous dialect, and got angry, and kept calling the boys—they appeared to us to have been drinking rather too much at the Hermæa, which made them difficult to manage—we fairly gave way and broke up the company."

In this way the daily conduct of Athenian boys of birth and good condition was subjected to observation; and it is not improbable that the charm which invested such lads as Plato portrayed in his *Charmides* and *Lysis* was partly due to the

[1] Quoted by Athen., xiii, 573 B.

[2] As Lycon chaperoned Autolycus at the feast of Callias.—*Xen. Symp.* Boys incurred immediate suspicion if they went out alone to parties. See a fragment from the *Sappho* of Ephippus in Athen, xiii, p. 572 C.

[3] Line 137. The joke here is that the father in Utopia suggests, of his own accord, what in Athens he carefully guarded against.

[4] Page 223, Jowett's trans.

self-respect and self-restraint generated by the peculiar conditions under which they passed their life.

Of the way in which a Greek boy spent his day, we gain some notion from two passages in Aristophanes and Lucian. The Dikaios Logos[1] tells that,

"in his days, when justice flourished and self-control was held in honour, a boy's voice was never heard. He walked in order with his comrades of the same quarter, lightly clad even in winter, down to the school of the harp-player. There he learned old-fashioned hymns to the gods, and patriotic songs. While he sat, he took care to cover his person decently; and when he rose, he never forgot to rub out the marks which he might have left upon the dust lest any man should view them after he was gone. At meals he ate what was put before him and refrained from idle chattering. Walking through the streets, he never tried to catch a passer's eye or to attract a lover. He avoided the shops, the baths,[2] the Agora, the houses of Hetairai.[3] He reverenced old age and formed within his soul the image of modesty. In the gymnasium he indulged in fair and noble exercise, or ran races with his comrades among the olive-trees of the Academy."

The Adikos Logos replies by pleading that this temperate sort of life is quite old-fashioned; boys had better learn to use their tongues and bully. In the last resort he uses a clinching *argumentum ad juvenem*:[4]—

> σκέψαι γὰρ ὦ μειράκιον, ἐν τῷ σωφρωνεῖν ἅπαντα
> ἃ 'νεστιν, ἡδονῶν θ' ὅσων μέλλεις ἀπωστερεῖσθαι
> παίδων, γυναικῶν, κοττάβων, ὄψων, πότων καχασμῶν.

Were it not for the beautiful and highly finished portraits in Plato, to which I have already alluded, the description of Aristophanes might be thought a mere ideal; and, indeed, it is probable that the actual life of the average Athenian boy lay mid-way between the courses prescribed by the Dikaios and the Adikos Logos.

Meanwhile, since Euripides, together with the whole school

[1] *Clouds*, 948 and on. I have abridged the original, doing violence to one of the most beautiful pieces of Greek poetry.

[2] Aristophanes returns to this point below, line 1,036, where he says that youths chatter all day in the hot baths and leave the wrestling-grounds empty.

[3] There was a good reason for shunning each. The Agora was the meeting-place of idle gossips, the centre of chaff and scandal. The shops were, as we shall see, the resort of bad characters and panders.

[4] Line 1,071.

of studious and philosophic speculators, are aimed at in the speeches of the Adikos Logos, it will be fair to adduce a companion picture of the young Greek educated on the athletic system, as these men had learned to know him. I quote from the *Autolycus*, a satyric drama of Euripides :—

"There are a myriad bad things in Hellas, but nothing is worse than the athletes. To begin with, they do not know how to live like gentlemen, nor could they if they did; for how can a man, the slave of his jaws and his belly, increase the fortune left him by his father? Poverty and ill-luck find them equally incompetent. Having acquired no habits of good living, they are badly off when they come to roughing it. In youth they shine like statues stuck about the town, and take their walks abroad; but when old age draws nigh, you find them as threadbare as an old coat. Suppose a man has wrestled well, or runs fast, or has hurled a quoit, or given a black eye in fine style, has he done the state a service by the crowns he won? Do soldiers fight with quoits in hand, or without the press of shields can kicks expel the foeman from the gate? Nobody is fool enough to do these things with steel before his face. Keep, then, your laurels for the wise and good, for him who rules a city well, the just and temperate, who by his speeches wards off ill, allaying wars and civil strife. These are the things for cities, yea, and for all Greece to boast of."

Lucian represents, of course, a late period of Attic life. But his picture of the perfect boy completes, and in some points supplements, that of Aristophanes. Callicratidas, in the *Dialogue on Love*, has just drawn an unpleasing picture of a woman, surrounded in a fusty boudoir with her rouge-pots and cosmetics, perfumes, paints, combs, looking-glasses, hair dyes, and curling irons. Then he turns to praise boys.[1]

"How different is a boy! In the morning he rises from his chaste couch, washes the sleep from his eyes with cold water, puts on his chlamys,[2] and takes his way to the school of the musician or the gymnast. His tutors and guardians attend him, and his eyes are bent upon the ground. He spends the morning in studying the poets and philosophers, in riding, or in military drill. Then he betakes himself to the wrestling-ground, and hardens his body with noontide heat and sweat and dust. The bath follows and a modest meal. After this he returns for awhile to study the lives of heroes and great men. After a frugal supper sleep at last is shed upon his eyelids."

Such is Lucian's sketch of the day spent by a young Greek at the famous University of Athens. Much is, undoubtedly, omitted; but enough is said to indicate the simple occupa-

[1] Caps. 44, 45, 46. The quotation is only an abstract of the original.
[2] Worn up to the age of about eighteen.

tions to which an Athenian youth, capable of inspiring an enthusiastic affection, was addicted. Then follows a burst of rhetoric, which reveals, when we compare it with the dislike expressed for women, the deeply-seated virile nature of Greek love.

"Truly he is worthy to be loved. Who would not love Hermes in the palæstra, or Phœbus at the lyre, or Castor on the racing-ground? Who would not wish to sit face to face with such a youth, to hear him talk, to share his toils, to walk with him, to nurse him in sickness, to attend him on the sea, to suffer chains and darkness with him if need be? He who hated him should be my foe, and whoso loved him should be loved by me. At his death I would die; one grave should cover us both; one cruel hand cut short our lives!"

In the sequel of the dialogue Lucian makes it clear that he intends these raptures of Callicratidas to be taken in great measure for romantic boasting. Yet the fact remains that, till the last, Greek paiderastia among the better sort of men (the καλοκαγαθοὶ) implied no effeminacy. Community of interest in sport, in exercise, and in open-air life rendered it attractive.[1]

"Son of Eudiades, Euphorion,
After the boxing-match, in which he beat,
With wreaths I crowned, and set fine silk upon
His forehead and soft blossoms honey-sweet;
Then thrice I kissed him all beblooded there;
His mouth I kissed, his eyes, his every bruise;
More fragrant far than frankincense, I swear,
Was the fierce chrism that from his brows did ooze."

"I do not care for curls or tresses
Displayed in wily wildernesses;
I do not prize the arts that dye
A painted cheek with hues that fly:
Give me a boy whose face and hand
Are rough with dust or circus-sand,
Whose ruddy flesh exhales the scent
Of health without embellishment:
Sweet to my sense is such a youth,
Whose charms have all the charm of truth:
Leave paints and perfumes, rouge, and curls,
To lazy, lewd Corinthian girls."

[1] Compare with the passages just quoted two epigrams from the Μοῦσα παιδική (Greek *Anthology*, sect. 12): No. 123 from a lover to a lad who has conquered in a boxing-match; No. 192 where Straton says he prefers the the dust and oil of the wrestling-ground to the curls and perfumes of a woman's room.

The palæstra was the place at Athens where lovers enjoyed the greatest freedom. In the *Phædrus* Plato observes that the attachment of the lover for a boy grew by meetings and personal contact, ἔν τε γυμνασίοις καὶ ἐν ταις ἄλλαις ὁμιλίαις,[1] in the gymnasiums and other social resorts, and in the *Symposium* he mentions gymnastic exercises with philosophy, and paiderastia as the three pursuits of freemen most obnoxious to despots. Æschines, again, describing the manners of boy-lovers in language familiar to his audience, uses these phrases: ὡς ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ διατριβαῖς γεγονώς, "having grown up in gymnasiums and games", and αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τοις γυμνασίοις ὀχληρὸς ὢν καὶ πλείστων ἐραστὴς γεγονώς, "the man having been a noisy haunter of gymnasiums, and having been the lover of multitudes". Aristophanes also in the *Wasps*[2] employs similar language: οὐδὲ παλαίστραις περικωμάζειν πειρῶν, "and not seeking to go revelling around in exercising grounds" I may compare Lucian, *Amores*, cap. 2, λιπαραὶ παλαῖστραι μελουσί σοι, "you care for gymnasiums and their sleek oiled combatants", which is said to a notorious boy-lover. Boys and men met together with considerable liberty in the porches, peristyles, and other adjuncts to an Attic wrestling-ground; and it was here, too, that sophists and philosophers established themselves with the certainty of attracting a large and eager audience for their discussions. It is true that an ancient law forbade the presence of adults in the wrestling-grounds of boys; but this law appears to have become almost wholly obsolete in the days of Plato. Socrates, for example, in the *Charmides*, goes down immediately, after his arrival from the camp at Potidæa into the palæstra of Taureas to hear the news of the day, and the very first question which he asks his friends is whether a new beauty has appeared among the youths.[3] So again in the *Lysis*, Hippothales invites Socrates to enter the private palæstra of Miccus, where boys and men were exercising together on the feast-day of Hermes.[4] "The building," he remarks, "is a newly erected palæstra, and the entertainment is generally conversation, to which you are welcome".

[1] Page 255 B. [2] 1,025. [3] *Charmides*, p. 153.
[4] *Lysis*, 206. This seems, however, to imply that on other occasions they were separated.

The scene which immediately follows is well known to Greek students as one of the most beautiful and vivid pictures of Athenian life. One group of youths are sacrificing to Hermes; another are casting dice in a corner of the dressing-room. Lysis himself is "standing among the other boys and youths, having a crown upon his head, like a fair vision, and not less worthy of praise for his goodness than for his beauty". The modesty of Lysis is shown by the shyness which prevents his joining Socrates' party until he has obtained the company of some of his young friends. Then a circle of boys and men is formed in a corner of the court, and a conversation upon friendship begins. Hippothales, the lover of Lysis, keeps at a decorous distance in the background. Not less graceful as a picture is the opening of the *Charmides*. In answer to a question of Socrates, the frequenters of the palæstra tell him to expect the coming of young Charmides. He will then see the most beautiful boy in Athens at the time: "for those who are just entering are the advanced guard of the great beauty of the day, and he is likely to be not far off". There is a noise and bustle at the door, and while the Socratic party continues talking Charmides enters. The effect produced is overpowering:[1]—

"You know, my friend, that I cannot measure anything, and of the beautiful I am simply such a measure as a white line is of chalk; for almost all young persons appear to be beautiful in my eyes. But at that moment when I saw him coming in, I confess that I was quite astonished at his beauty and his stature; all the world seemed to be enamoured of him; amazement and confusion reigned when he entered; and a troop of lovers followed him. That grown-up men like ourselves should have been affected in this way was not surprising, but I observed that there was the same feeling among the boys; all of them, down to the very least child, turned and looked at him, as if he had been a statue."

Charmides, like Lysis, is persuaded to sit down by Socrates, who opens a discussion upon the appropriate question of *σωφροσύνη*, or modest temperance and self-restraint.[2]

"He came as he was bidden, and sat down between Critias and me. Great amusement was occasioned by everyone pushing with might and main at his neighbour in order to make a place for him next to them, until

[1] *Charmides*, p. 154, Jowett.
[2] Page 155, Jowett.

at the two ends of the row one had to get up, and the other was rolled over sideways. Now I, my friend, was beginning to feel awkward; my former bold belief in my powers of conversing with him had vanished. And when Critias told him that I was the person who had the cure, he looked at me in such an indescribable manner, and was going to ask a question; and then all the people in the palæstra crowded about us, and, O rare! I caught a sight of the inwards of his garment, and took the flame. Then I could no longer contain myself. I thought how well Cydias understood the nature of love when, in speaking of a fair youth, he warns someone 'not to bring the fawn in the sight of the lion to be devoured by him', for I felt that I had been overcome by a sort of wild-beast appetite."

The whole tenor of the dialogue makes it clear that, in spite of the admiration he excited, the honour paid him by a public character like Socrates, and the troops of lovers and of friends surrounding him, yet Charmides was unspoiled. His docility, modesty, simplicity, and healthiness of soul are at least as remarkable as the beauty for which he was so famous.

A similar impression is produced upon our minds by Autolycus in the *Symposium* of Xenophon.[1] Callias, his acknowledged lover,[2] had invited him to a banquet after a victory which he had gained in the pancration; and many other guests, including the Socratic party, were asked to meet him. Autolycus came, attended by his father; and as soon as the tables were covered and the seats had been arranged, a kind of divine awe fell upon the company. The grown-up men were dazzled by the beauty and the modest bearing of the boy, just as when a bright light is brought into a darkened room. Everybody gazed at him, and all were silent, sitting in uncomfortable attitudes of expectation and astonishment. The dinner party would have passed off very tamely if Phillipus, a professional diner-out and jester, had not opportunely made his appearance. Autolycus meanwhile never uttered a word, but lay beside his father like a breathing statue. Later on in the evening he was obliged to answer a question. He opened his lips with blushes, and all he said was μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγε,[3] "Not I, by gad". Still, even this

[1] Cap. i, 8.

[2] See cap. viii, 7: ὅτι γε μὴν σύ ὦ Καλλία ἐρᾷς Αὐτολύκου πᾶσα μὲν ἡ πόλις οἵδε, κ.τ.λ. This is said before the boy, and in his hearing.

[3] Cap. iii, 12.

created a great sensation in the company. Everybody, says Xenophon, was charmed to hear his voice and turned their eyes upon him. It should be remarked that the conversation at this party fell almost entirely upon matters of love. Critobulus, for example, who was very beautiful and rejoiced in having many lovers, gave a full account of his own feelings for Cleinias.[1]

"You all tell me," he argued, "that I am beautiful, and I cannot but believe you; but if I am, and if you feel what I feel when I look on Cleinias, I think that beauty is better worth having than all Persia. I would choose to be blind to everybody else if I could only see Cleinias, and I hate the night because it robs me of his sight. I would rather be the slave of Cleinias than live without him; I would rather toil and suffer danger for his sake than live alone at ease and in safety. I would go through fire with him, as you would with me. In my soul I carry an image of him better made than any sculptor could fashion."

What makes this speech the more singular is that Critobulus was a newly married man.

But to return from this digression to the palæstra. The Greeks were conscious that gymnastic exercises tended to encourage and confirm the habit of paiderastia. "Οσαι μάλιστα ἅπτονται τῶν γυμνασίων "the cities which have most to do with gymnastics," is the phrase which Plato uses to describe the states where Greek love flourished.[2] Herodotus says the barbarians borrowed gymnastics together with paiderastia from the Hellenes; and we hear that Polycrates of Samos caused the gymnasia to be destroyed when he wished to discountenance the love which lent the warmth of personal enthusiasm to political associations.[3] It was common to erect statues of love in the wrestling-grounds; and there, says Plutarch,[4] the god's wings grew so wide that no man could restrain his flight. Readers of the idyllic poets will remember that it was a statue of Love which fell from its pedestal in the swimming-bath upon the cruel boy who had insulted the body of his self-slain friend.[5] Charmus, the

[1] Cap. iv, 10, *et seq.* The English is an abridgment.
[2] *Laws*, i, 636 C
[3] Athen., xiii, 602 D.
[4] *Eroticus.*
[5] ἐραστὴς or δύσερως, line 60, ascribed to Theocritus, but not genuine.

lover of Hippias, erected an image of Erôs in the Academy at Athens which bore this epigram:

ποικιλομήχαν' ἔρως σοὶ τόνδ' ἱδρύσατο βωμόν
Χάρμος ἐπὶ σκιεροῖς τέρμασι γυμνασίου.[1]

"Love, god of many evils and various devices, Charmus set up this altar to thee upon the shady boundaries of the gymnasium."

Erôs, in fact, was as much at home in the gymnasia of Athens as Aphrodite in the temples of Corinth; he was the patron of paiderastia, as she of female love. Thus Meleager writes:

ἁ Κύπρις θήλεια γυναικομανῆ φλόγα βάλλει·
ἄρσενα δ' αὐτὸς Ἔρως ἵμερον ἀνιοχεῖ.[2]

"The Cyprian queen, a woman, hurls the fire that maddens men for females; but Erôs himself sways the love of males for males."

Plutarch, again, in the Erotic dialogue, alludes to Ἔρως, Ἀφροδίτης μὴ παρούσης, Ἔρως χωρὶς Ἀφροδίτης (Erôs, where Aphrodite is not; Erôs apart from Aphrodite). These facts relating to the gymnasia justified Cicero in saying "Mihi quidem hæc in Græcorum gymnasiis nata consuetudo videtur: *in quibus isti liberi et concessi sunt amores.* He adds, with a true Roman's antipathy to Greek æsthetics and their flimsy screen for sensuality, "Bene ergo Ennius, *flagitii principium est nudare inter cives corpora.*"[3] "To me, indeed, it seems that this custom was generated in the gymnasiums of the Greeks, for there those loves are freely indulged and sanctioned. Ennius therefore very properly observed that the beginning of vice is the habit of stripping the body among citizens."

The Attic gymnasia and schools were regulated by strict laws. We have already seen that adults were not supposed to enter the palæstra; and the penalty for the infringement of this rule by the gymnasiarch was death. In the same way schools had to be shut at sunset and not opened again before daybreak; nor was a grown-up man allowed to frequent them. The public chorus-teachers of boys were obliged to be above the age of forty.[4] Slaves who presumed to make

[1] Athen., xiii, 609 D.

[2] Μοῦσα παιδική, 86.

[3] Compare the *Atys* of Catullus: "Ego mulier, ego adolescens, ego ephebus, ego puer, Ego gymnasi fui flos, ego eram decus olei."

[4] See the law on these points in *Æsch. adv. Timarchum.*

advances to a free boy were subject to the severest penalties; in like manner they were prohibited from gymnastic exercises. Æschines, from whom we learn these facts, draws the correct conclusion that gymnastics and Greek love were intended to be the special privilege of freemen. Still, in spite of all restrictions, the palæstra was the centre of Athenian profligacy, the place in which not only honourable attachments were formed, but disgraceful bargains also were concluded;[1] and it is not improbable that men like Taureas and Miccus, who opened such places of amusement as a private speculation, may have played the part of go-betweens and panders. Their walls and the plane-trees which grew along their open courts were inscribed by lovers with the names of boys who had attracted them. To scrawl up καλὸς Δινομένευς καλὸς παὶς, "fair is Dinomeneus, fair is the boy," was a common custom, as we learn from Aristophanes and from this anonymous epigram in the *Anthology*:[2]—

εἶπα, καὶ αὖ τάλιν εἶπα·καλός, καλός· ἀλλ' ἔτί φήσω
ὡς καλὸς ὡς χαρίεις ὄμμασι Δωσίθεος.
οὐ δρυός, οὐδ' ἐλάτης ἐχαράξαμεν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοίχου
τοῦτ' ἔπος· ἀλλ' ἐν ἐμῇ σμύχετ' ἔρως κράδιᾳ.

"I said and once again I said, 'fair, fair'; but still will I go on repeating how fascinating with his eyes is Dositheus. Not upon an oak, nor on a pine-tree, nor yet upon a wall, will I inscribe this word; but love is smouldering in my heart of hearts."

Another attention of the same kind from a lover to a boy was to have a vase or drinking-cup of baked clay made, with a portrait of the youth depicted on its surface, attended by winged genii of health and love. The word ΚΑΛΟΣ, "Fair", was inscribed beneath, and symbols of games were added—a hoop or a fighting-cock.[3] Nor must I here omit the custom which induced lovers of a literary turn to praise their friends in prose or verse. Hippothales, in the *Lysis* of Plato, is ridiculed by his friends for recording the great deeds of the boy's ancestors, and deafening his ears with odes and sonnets. A diatribe on love, written by Lysias with a view to winning Phædrus, forms the starting-point of the dialogue

[1] Thus Aristophanes quoted above, παλαίστραις περικωμάζειν πειρῶν.

[2] Aristoph., *Ach.*, 144, and Μοῦσα παιδική, 130.

[3] See Sir William Hamilton's *Vases*.

between that youth and Socrates.[1] We have, besides, a curious panegyrical oration (called ἐρωτικὸς λόγος), falsely ascribed to Demosthenes, in honour of a youth, Epicrates, from which some information may be gathered concerning the topics usually developed in these compositions.

Presents were of course a common way of trying to win favour. It was reckoned shameful for boys to take money from their lovers, but fashion permitted them to accept gifts of quails and fighting-cocks, pheasants, horses, dogs, and clothes.[2] There existed, therefore, at Athens frequent temptations for boys of wanton disposition, or for those who needed money to indulge expensive tastes. The speech of Æschines, from which I have already frequently quoted, affords a lively picture of the Greek rake's progress, in which Timarchus is described as having sold his person in order to gratify his gluttony and lust and love of gaming. The whole of this passage,[3] it may be observed in passing, reads like a description of Florentine manners in a sermon of Savonarola.

The shops of the barbers, surgeons, perfumers, and flower-sellers had an evil notoriety, and lads who frequented these resorts rendered themselves liable to suspicion. Thus Æschines accuses Timarchus of having exposed himself for hire in a surgeon's shop at the Peiræus; while one of Straton's most beautiful epigrams[4] describes an assignation which he made with a boy who had attracted his attention in a garland-weaver's stall. In a fragment from the Πύραννος of Alexis a young man declares that he found thirty professors of the ὑγρὸς βίος, "voluptuous life of pleasure," in the Cerameicus during a search of three days; while Cratinus and Theopompus might be quoted to prove the ill fame of the monument to Cimon and the hill of Lycabettus.[5]

[1] Lysias, according to Suidas, was the author of five Erotic epistles addressed to young men.

[2] See Aristoph., *Plutus*, 153-159; *Birds*, 704-707. Cp. Μοῦσα παιδική, 44, 239, 237. The boys made extraordinary demands upon their lovers' generosity. The curious tale told about Alcibiades points in this direction, In Crete they did the like, but also set their lovers to execute difficult tasks, as Eurystheus imposed the twelve labours on Herakles.

[3] Page 29.

[4] Μοῦσα παιδική, 8: cp. a fragment of Crates, *Poetæ Comici*, Didot, p. 83.

[5] *Comici Græci*, Didot, pp. 562, 31, 308.

The last step in the downward descent was when a youth abandoned the roof of his parents or guardians and accepted the hospitality of a lover.[1] If he did this, he was lost.

In connection with this portion of the subject it may be well to state that the Athenian law recognised contracts made between a man and boy, even if the latter were of free birth, whereby the one agreed to render up his person for a certain period and purpose, and the other to pay a fixed sum of money.[2] The phrase παῖς ἡταιρηκώς, "a boy who has been a prostitute," occurs quite naturally in Aristophanes ;[3] nor was it thought disreputable for men to engage in these *liaisons*. Disgrace only attached to the free youth who gained a living by prostitution ; and he was liable, as we shall see, at law to ἀτιμια, or loss of civil rights.

Public brothels for males were kept in Athens, from which the state derived a portion of its revenue. It was in one of these bad places that Socrates first saw Phædo.[4] This unfortunate youth was a native of Elis. Taken prisoner in war, he was sold in the public market to a slave-dealer, who then acquired the right by Attic law to prostitute his person and engross his earnings for his own pocket. A friend of Socrates, perhaps Cebes, bought him from his master, and he became one of the chief members of the Socratic circle. His name is given to the Platonic dialogue on immortality, and he lived to found what is called the Eleo-Socratic School. No reader of Plato forgets how the sage, on the eve of his death, stroked the beautiful long hair of Phædo,[5] and prophesied that he would soon have to cut it short in mourning for his teacher.

Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse, is said to have spent his youth in brothels of this sort—by inclination, however, if the reports of his biographers be not calumnious.

From what has been collected on this topic, it will be understood that boys in Athens not unfrequently caused

[1] It is curious to compare the passage in the second *Philippic* about the youth of Mark Antony with the story told by Plutarch about Alcibiades, who left the custody of his guardians for the house of Democrates.

[2] See both *Lysias against Simon* and *Æschines against Timarchus*.

[3] *Peace*, line 11 ; compare the word παλλάκιον in Plato, *Comici Græci*, p. 261.

[4] Diog. Laert., ii, 105.

[5] Plato's *Phædo*, p. 89.

quarrels and street-brawls, and that cases for recovery of damages or breach of contract were brought before the Attic law-courts. The Peiræus was especially noted for such scenes of violence. The oration of Lysias against Simon is a notable example of the pleadings in a cause of this description.[1] Simon the defendant and Lysias the plaintiff (or some one for whom Lysias had composed the speech) were both of them attached to Theodotus, a boy from Platæa. Theodotus was living with the plaintiff; but the defendant asserted that the boy had signed an agreement to consort with him for the consideration of three hundred drachmæ, and, relying on this contract, he had attempted more than once to carry off the boy by force. Violent altercations, stone-throwings, house-breakings, and encounters of various kinds having ensued, the plaintiff brought an action for assault and battery against Simon. A modern reader is struck with the fact that he is not at all ashamed of his own relation toward Theodotus. It may be noted that the details of this action throw light upon the historic brawl at Corinth in which a boy was killed, and which led to the foundation of Syracuse by Archias the Bacchiad.[2]

XIV.

We have seen in the foregoing section that paiderastia at Athens was closely associated with liberty, manly sports, severe studies, enthusiasm, self-sacrifice, self-control, and deeds of daring, by those who cared for those things. It has also been made abundantly manifest that no serious moral shame attached to persons who used boys like women, but that effeminate youths of free birth were stigmatised for their indecent profligacy. It remains still to ascertain the more delicate distinctions which were drawn by Attic law and custom in this matter, though what has been already quoted from Pausanias in the *Symposium* of Plato may be taken fairly to express the code of honour among gentlemen.

[1] *Orat. Attici*, vol. ii, p. 223.

[2] See Herodotus. Max. Tyr. tells the story (*Dissert.*, xxiv, 1) in detail. The boy's name was Actæon, wherefore he may be compared, he says, to that other Actæon who was torn to death by his own dogs.

In the *Plutus*[1] Aristophanes is careful to divide ἐρώμενοι, "boys with lovers," into the χρηστοὶ, "the good," and the πόρνοι[2] "the strumpets." This distinction will serve as basis for the following remarks. A very definite line was drawn by the Athenians between boys who accepted the addresses of their lovers because they liked them or because they were ambitious of comradeship with men of spirit, and those who sold their bodies for money. Minute inquiry was never instituted into the conduct of the former class; else Alcibiades could not have made his famous declaration about Socrates,[3] nor would Plato in the *Phædrus* have regarded an occasional breach of chastity, under the compulsion of violent passion, as a venial error.[4] The latter, on the other hand, besides being visited with universal censure, were disqualified by law from exercising the privileges of the franchise, from undertaking embassies, from frequenting the Agora, and from taking part in public festivals, under the penalty of death. Æschines, from whom we learn the wording of this statute, adds:[5] τοῦτον μὲν τὸν νόμον ἔθηκε περὶ τῶν μειρακίων τῶν προχείρως εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα ἐξαμαρτανόντων. "This law he passed with regard to youths who sin with facility and readiness against their own bodies." He then proceeds to define the true nature of ἑταιρεία (prostitution), prohibited by law to citizens of Athens. It is this: ὁ γὰρ πρὸς ἕνα τοῦτο πράττων ἐπὶ μισθῷ δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν ποιούμενος αὐτῷ μοι δοκεῖ τούτῳ ἔνοχος εἶναι.[6] "Any one who acts in this way towards a single man, provided he do it with payment, seems to me to be liable to the reproach in question." The whole discussion turns upon the word μισθός. The orator is cautious to meet the argument that a written contract was necessary in order to construct a case of ἑταιρεία at law.[7] In the statute, he observes, there is no mention of "contract" or "deed in

[1] 153.

[2] Hesychius gives πόρνος as one of the meanings of δημοκοινός (cp. the *notissima fossa* of Catullus), and Xenophon, in the *Memorabilia* (i 6, 13), defines such a person as one who τὴν ὥραν ἀργυρίου πολεῖ τῷ βουλομένῳ.

[3] *Symp.*, 217. [4] *Phædr.*, 256.

[5] Page 17. My quotations are made from Dobson's *Oratores Attici*, vol. xii, and the references are to his pages.

[6] Page 30. [7] Page 67.

writing." The offence has been sufficiently established "when in any way whatever payment has been made".

In order to illustrate the feeling of the Athenians with regard to making profit out of paiderastic relations, I may perhaps be permitted to interrupt the analysis of Æschines by referring to Xenophon's character (*Anab.* ii, 6, 21) of the Strategus Menon. The whole tenor of his judgment is extremely unfavourable toward this man, who invariably pursued selfish and mean aims, debasing virtuous qualities like ambition and industry in the mere pursuit of wealth and power. He was, in fact, devoid of chivalrous feeling, good taste, and honour. About his behaviour as a youth Xenophon writes: *παρὰ Ἀριστίππῳ μὲν ἔτι ὡραῖος ὢν στρατηγεῖν διεπράξατο τῶν ξένων· Ἀριαίῳ δὲ βαρβάρῳ ὄντι, ὅτι μειρακίοις καλοῖς ἥδετο, οἰκειότατος ἔτι ὡραῖος ὢν ἐγένετο· αὐτὸς δὲ παιδικὰ εἶχε Θαρύπαν ἀγένειος ὢν γενειῶντα.* "With Ariæus, the barbarian, because this man was partial to handsome youths, he became extremely intimate while he was still in the prime of adolescence; moreover, he had Tharypas for his beloved, he being beardless and Tharypas a man with a beard." His crime seems to have been that he prostituted himself to the barbarian Ariæus in order to advance his interest, and, probably with the same view, flattered the effeminate vanity of an elder man by pretending to love him out of the right time or season. Plutarch (*Pyrrhus*) mentions this Tharypas as the first to introduce Hellenic manners among the Molossi.

When more than one lover was admitted, the guilt was aggravated: *οὐκ ἔτι δή που μόνον φανήσεται ἡταιρηκὼς ἀλλὰ καὶ τεπορνευμένος, ὁ γὰρ εἰκῇ τοῦτο, καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς πράττων, καὶ μισθοῦ, αὐτῷ μοι δοκεῖ τούτῳ ἔνοχος εἶναι.* "It will then be manifest that he has not only acted the strumpet, but that he has been a common prostitute. For he who does this indifferently, and with money, and for money, seems to have incurred that designation." Thus the question finally put to the Areopagus, in which court the case against Timarchus was tried, ran as follows, in the words of Æschines:[1] *εἰς ὁποτέραν τάξιν τὸν Τιμαρχον κατανέμετε· πότερον εἰς τοὺς ἐρωμένους ἢ εἰς τοὺς πεπορνευμένους.* "To which of these two classes will

[1] Page 67.

you reckon Timarchus—to those who have had a lover, or to those who have been prostitutes?" In his rhetorical exposition Æschines defines the true character of the virtuous ἐρώμενος. Frankly admitting his own partiality for beautiful young men, he argues after this fashion:[1] "I do not attach any blame to love. I do not take away the character of handsome lads. I do not deny that I have often loved, and had many quarrels and jealousies in this matter. But I establish this as an irrefutable fact, that, while the love of beautiful and temperate youths does honour to humanity and indicates a generous temper, the buying of the person of a free boy for debauchery is a mark of insolence and ill-breeding. To be loved is an honour: to sell yourself is a disgrace." He then appeals to the law which forbade slaves to love, thereby implying that this was the privilege and pride of free men. He alludes to the heroic deed of Aristogeiton and to the great example of Achilles. Finally, he draws up a list of well-known and respected citizens whose loves were notorious, and compares them with a parallel list of persons infamous for their debauchery. What remains in the peroration to this invective traverses the same ground. Some phrases may be quoted which illustrate the popular feeling of the Athenians. Timarchus is stigmatised[2] as τὸν ἄνδρα μὲν καὶ ἄῤῥενα, τὸ σῶμα γυναικεῖα δὲ ἁμαρτήματα ἡμαρτηκότα, "the man and male who in spite of this has debauched his body by womanly acts of lust," and again as τῷ παρὰ φύσιν ἑαυτὸν ὑβρίσαντι, "one who against the law of nature has given himself to lewdness." It is obvious here that Æschines, the self-avowed boy-lover, while seeking to crush his opponent by flinging effeminacy and unnatural behaviour in his teeth, assumes at the same time that honourable paiderastia implies no such disgrace. Again, he observes that it is as easy to recognise a pathic by his impudent behaviour as a gymnast by his muscles. Lastly, he bids the judges force intemperate lovers to abstain from free youths and satisfy their lusts upon the persons of foreigners and aliens.[3] The whole matter at this distance of time is obscure, nor can we hope to apprehend the full force of distinctions drawn by a Greek orator appealing to a Greek audience.

[1] Page 59. [2] Page 75. [3] Page 78.

We may, indeed, fairly presume that, as is always the case with popular ethics, considerable confusion existed in the minds of the Athenians themselves, and that even for them to formulate the whole of their social feelings on this topic consistently, would have been impossible. The main point, however, seems to be that at Athens it was held honourable to love free boys with decency; that the conduct of lovers between themselves, within the limits of recognised friendship, was not challenged; and that no particular shame attached to profligate persons so long as they refrained from tampering with the sons of citizens.[1]

XV.

The sources from which our information has hitherto been drawn—speeches, poems, biographies, and the dramatic parts of dialogues—yield more real knowledge about the facts of Athenian paiderastia than can be found in the speculations of philosophers. In Aristotle, for instance, paiderastia is almost conspicuous by its absence. It is true that he speculates upon the Cretan customs in the *Politics*, mentions the prevalence of boy-love among the Kelts, and incidentally notices the legends of Diocles and Cleomachus;[2] but he never discusses the matter as fully as might have been expected from a philosopher whose speculations covered the whole field of Greek experience. The chapters on φιλία in the *Ethics* might indeed have been written by a modern moralist for modern readers, though it is possible that in his treatment of φιλία δι' ηδονήν and φίλια διὰ τοῦ χρησιμοῦ, "friendship with pleasure for its object" and "friendship with advantage for its object," Aristotle is aiming at the vicious sort of paiderastia. As regards his silence in the *Politics*, it is worth noticing that this treatise breaks off at the very point where we should naturally look for a scientific handling

[1] Æschines, p. 27, apologises to Misgolas, who was a man, he says, of good breeding, for being obliged to expose his early connection with Timarchus. Misgolas, however, is more than once mentioned by the comic poets with contempt as a notorious rake.

[2] See *Pol.*, ii, 7, 5; ii, 6, 5; ii, 9, 6.

of the education of the passions, and, therefore, it is possible that we may have lost the weightiest utterance of Greek philosopy upon the matter of our enquiry.

Though Aristotle contains but little to the purpose, the case is different with Plato; nor would it be possible to omit a detailed examination of the Platonic doctrine on the topic or to neglect the attempt he made to analyse and purify a passion capable, according to his earlier philosophical speculations, of supplying the starting-point for spiritual progress.

The first point to notice in the Platonic treatment of paiderastia is the difference between the ethical opinions expressed in the *Phædrus*, *Symposium*, *Republic*, *Charmides*, and *Lysis*, on the one hand, and those expounded in the *Laws* upon the other. The *Laws*, which are probably a genuine work of Plato's old age, condemn that passion which in the *Phædrus* and *Symposium* he exalted as the greatest boon of human life and as the groundwork of the philosophical temperament; the ordinary social manifestations of which he described with sympathy in the *Lysis* and the *Charmides;* and which he viewed with more than toleration in the *Republic*. It is not my business to offer a solution of this contradiction; but I may observe that Socrates, who plays the part of protagonist in nearly all the other dialogues of Plato, and who, as we shall see, professed a special cult of love, is conspicuous by his absence in the *Laws*. It is therefore, not improbable that the philosophical idealisation of paiderastia, to which the name of Platonic love is usually given, should rather be described as Socratic. However that may be, I think it will be well to deal first with the doctrine put into the mouth of the Athenian stranger in the *Laws*, and then to pass on to the consideration of what Socrates is made to say upon the subject of Greek love in the earlier dialogues.

The position assumed by Plato in the *Laws* (p. 636) is this: Syssitia and gymnasia are excellent institutions in their way, but they have a tendency to degrade natural love in man below the level of the beasts. Pleasure is only natural (κατὰ φύσιν) when it arises out of the intercourse between men and women, but the intercourse between men and men, or women and women, is contrary to nature

(*παρὰ φύσιν*).[1] The bold attempt at overleaping Nature's laws was due originally to unbridled lust (*δι' ἀκράτειαν ἡδονῆς*).

This position is developed in the eighth book (p. 836), where Plato directs his criticism, not only against what would now be termed the criminal intercourse between persons of the same sex, but also against incontinence in general. While framing a law of almost monastic rigour for the regulation of the sexual appetite, he remains an ancient Greek. He does not reach the point of view from which women are regarded as the proper objects of both passion and friendship, as the fit companions of men in all relations of life; far less does he revert to his earlier speculations upon the enthusiasm generated by a noble passion. The modern ideal of marriage and the chivalrous conception of womanhood as worthy to be worshipped are unlike unknown to him. Abstinence from the delights of love, continence except for the sole end of procreation, is the rule which he proposes to the world.

There are three distinct things, Plato argues, which, owing to the inadequacy of language to represent states of thought, have been confounded.[2] These are friendship (*φιλία*), desire (*ἐπιθυμία*), and a third mixed species (*ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τρίτον ἄλλο εἶδος . . . οἱ λεγόμενοι ἔρωτες*). Friendship is further described as the virtuous affection of equals in taste, age and station, *ὅμοιος ὁμοίῳ κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ ἴσος ἴσῳ*. Desire is always founded

[1] The advocates of paiderastia in Greece tried to refute the argument from animals (*Laws*, p. 636 B; cp. *Daphnis and Chloe*, lib. 4, what Daphnis says to Gnathon) by the following considerations: Man is not a lion or a bear. Social life among human beings is highly artificial; forms of intimacy unknown to the natural state are therefore to be regarded, like clothing, cooking of food, houses, machinery, &c., as the invention and privilege of rational beings. See Lucian, *Amores*, 33, 34, 35, 36, for a full exposition of this argument. See also Μοῦσα παιδική, 245. The curious thing is that many animals are addicted to all sorts of so-called unnatural vices.

[2] Maximus Tyrius, who, in the rhetorical analysis of love alluded to before (p. 172), has closely followed Plato, insists upon the confusion introduced by language: *φωνῇ μιᾷ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπονομάζοντες ἔρωτα, οὕτωσὶ καλοῦντες καὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν νόσον· καλλωπίζονται μὲν οἱ μοχθηροὶ ἐρασταὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὁμωνυμίαν, ἀπιστοῦνται δὲ οἱ χρηστοὶ διὰ τὸ ἀμφιβολον τοῦ πάθους*, *Dissert.*, xxiv, 3. Again, *ἠγητέον αὐτὸν* (*sc.* *ἔρωτα*) *εἶναι ὄνομα κοινὸν ἐν μεταιχμίῳ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας τεταγμένον*, *τ.κ.λ.* *Dissert.*, xxvi, 4; and compare *Dissert.*, xxv, 4.

on a sense of contrast, ἀπὸ ἐναντίων. While friendship is ἥμερός τε καὶ κοινὴ διὰ βίου, "gentle and mutual through life," desire is δεινὴ καὶ ἀγρία, "fierce and wild."[1] The true friend seeks to live chastely with the chaste object of his attachment, whose soul he loves. The lustful lover longs to enjoy the flower of his youth and cares only for the body. The third sort is mixed of these; and a lover of this composite kind is torn asunder by two impulses, τοῦ μὲν κελεύοντος τῆς ὥρας ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ δὲ ἀπαγιρεύοντος, "the one commanding him to enjoy the youth's person's, the other forbidding him to do so."[2] The description of the lover of the third species so exactly suits the paiderast of nobler quality in Greece, as I conceive him to have actually existed, that I shall give a full quotation of this passage:[3]

"As to the mixed sort, which is made up of them both, there is, first of all, a difficulty in determining what he who is possessed by this third love desires; moreover, he is drawn different ways, and is in doubt between the two principles, the one exhorting him to enjoy the beauty of the youth, and the other forbidding him; for the one is a lover of the body and hungers after beauty like ripe fruit, and would fain satisfy himself without any regard to the character of the beloved; the other holds the desire of the body to be a secondary matter, and, looking rather than loving with his soul, and desiring the soul of the other in a becoming manner, regards the satisfaction of the bodily love as wantonness; he reverences and respects temperance and courage and magnanimity and wisdom, and wishes to live chastely with the chaste object of his affection."

It is remarkable that Plato, in this analysis of the three sorts of love, keeps strictly within the bounds of paiderastia. He rejects desire and the mixed sort of love, reserving friendship (φιλία) and ordaining marriage for the satisfaction of the aphrodisiac instinct at a fitting age, but more particularly for the procreation of children. Wantonness of every description is to be made as much a sin as incest, both by law and also by the world's opinion. If Olympian victors, with an

[1] This is the development of the argument in the *Phædrus*, where Socrates, improvising an improvement on the speech of Lysias, compares lovers to wolves and boys to lambs. See the passage in Max. Tyr., where Socrates is compared to a shepherd, the Athenian lovers to butchers, and the boys to lambs upon the mountains.

[2] This again is the development of the whole eloquent analysis of love, as it attacks the uninitiated and unphilosophic nature, in the *Phædrus*.

[3] Jowett's trans., p. 837

earthly crown in view, learn to live chastely for the preservation of their strength while training, shall not men whose contest is for heavenly prizes keep their bodies undefiled, their spirits holy?

Socrates, the mystagogue of amorous philosophy, is absent, as I have observed, from this discussion of the laws. I turn now to those earlier dialogues in which he expounds the doctrine of Platonic, or, as I should prefer to call it, Socratic, love. We know from Xenophon, as well as Plato, that Socrates named his philosophy the Science of Love. The one thing on which I pride myself, he says, is knowledge of all matters that pertain to love. It furthermore appears that Socrates thought himself in a peculiar sense predestined to reform and to ennoble paiderastia. "Finding this passion at its height throughout the whole of Hellas, but most especially in Athens, and all places full of evil lovers and of youths seduced, he felt a pity for both parties. Not being a lawgiver like Solon, he could not stop the custom by statute, nor correct it by force, nor again dissuade men from it by his eloquence. He did not, however, on that account abandon the lovers or the boys to their fate, but tried to suggest a remedy." This passage, which I have paraphrased from Maximus Tyrius,[1] sufficiently expresses the attitude assumed by Socrates in the Platonic dialogue. He sympathises with Greek lovers, and avows a fervent admiration for beauty in the persons of young men. At the same time he declares himself upon the side of temperate and generous affection, and strives to utilise the erotic enthusiasm as a motive power in the direction of philosophy. This was really nothing more or less than an attempt to educate the Athenians by appealing to their own higher instincts. We have seen that paiderastia in the prime of Hellenic culture, whatever sensual admixture it might have contained, was a masculine passion. It was closely connected with the love of political independence, with the contempt for Asiatic luxury, with the gymnastic sports, and with the intellectual interests which distinguished

[1] *Dissert.*, xxv, 1. The same author pertinently remarks that, though the teaching of Socrates on love might well have been considered perilous, it formed no part of the accusations of either Anytus or Aristophanes. *Dissert.*, xxiv, 5-7.

Hellenes from barbarians. Partly owing to the social habits of their cities, and partly to the peculiar notions which they entertained regarding the seclusion of free women in the home, all the higher elements of spiritual and mental activity, and the conditions under which a generous passion was conceivable, had become the exclusive privileges of men. It was not that women occupied a semi-servile station, as some students have imagined, or that within the sphere of the household they were not the respected and trusted helpmates of men. But circumstances rendered it impossible for them to excite romantic and enthusiastic passion. The exaltation of the emotions was reserved for the male sex.

Socrates, therefore, sought to direct and moralise a force already existing. In the *Phædrus* he describes the passion of love between man and boy as a μανία, or madness, not different in quality from that which inspires poets; and, after painting that fervid picture of the lover, he declares that the true object of a noble life can only be attained by passionate friends, bound together in the chains of close yet temperate comradeship, seeking always to advance in knowledge, self-restraint, and intellectual illumination. The doctrine of the *Symposium* is not different, except that Socrates here takes a higher flight. The same love is treated as the method whereby the soul may begin her mystic journey to the region of essential beauty, truth, and goodness. It has frequently been remarked that Plato's dialogues have to be read as poems even more than as philosophical treatises; and if this be true at all, it is particularly true of both the *Phædrus* and the *Symposium*. The lesson which both essays seem intended to inculcate is this: love, like poetry and prophecy, is a divine gift, which diverts men from the common current of their lives; but in the right use of this gift lies the secret of all human excellence. The passion which grovels in the filth of sensual grossness may be transformed into a glorious enthusiasm, a winged splendour, capable of soaring to the contemplation of eternal verities. How strange will it be, when once those heights of intellectual intuition have been scaled, to look down again to earth and view the μειρακίδια in whom the soul first recognised the form of beauty![1] There

[1] This is a remark of Diotima's. Maximus Tyrius (*Dissert.*, xxvi, 8).

is a deeply rooted mysticism, an impenetrable soofyism, in the Socratic doctrine of Erôs.

In the *Phædrus*, the *Symposium*, the *Charmides*, the *Lysis*, and the *Republic*, Plato dramatised the real Socrates, while he gave liberal scope to his own personal sympathy for paiderastia.[1] In the *Laws*, if we accept this treatise as the work of his old age, he discarded the Socratic mask and, wrote a kind of palinode, which indicates more moral growth than pure disapprobation of the paiderastic passion. I have already tried to show that the point of view in the *Laws* is still Greek; that their author has not passed beyond the sphere of Hellenic ethics. He has only become more ascetic in his rule of conduct as the years advanced, importing the *rumores senum severiorum* into his discourse, and recognising the imperfection of that halting-point between the two logical extremes of Pagan license and monastic asceticism which in the fervour of his greener age he advocated. As a young man, Plato felt sympathy for love so long as it was paiderastic and not spent on women; he even condoned a lapse through warmth of feeling into self-indulgence. As an old man, he denounced carnal pleasure of all kinds, and sought to limit the amative instincts to the one sole end of procreation.

It has so happened that Plato's name is still connected with the ideal of passion purged from sensuality. Much might be written about the parallel between the *mania* of the *Phædrus* and the *joy* of medieval amorists. Nor would it be unprofitable to trace the points of contact between the love described by Dante in the *Vita Nuova* and the paiderastia exalted to the heavens by Plato.[2] The spiritual passion for Beatrice which raised the Florentine poet above vile things, and led him by the philosophic paths of the *Convito* to the beatific vision of the *Paradiso*, bears no slight resemblance to

gives it a very rational interpretation. Nowhere else, he says, but in the human form, *τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ νοεροτάτῳ γηΐνων σωμάτων*, does the light of the divine beauty shine so clear. This is the word of classic art, the word of the humanities, to use a phrase of the Renaissance. It finds an echo in many beautiful sonnets of Michelangelo.

[1] See Bergk., vol. ii, pp. 616-629, for a critique of the canon of the highly paiderastic epigrams which bear Plato's name and for their text.

[2] I select the *Vita Nuova* as the most eminent example of medieval erotic mysticism.

the ἔρως of the *Symposium*. Yet we know that Dante could not have studied Plato's works; and the specific love which Plato praised he sternly stigmatised. The harmony between Greek and medievel mysticism in this matter of the emotions rests on something permanent in human nature, common alike to paiderastia and to chivalrous enthusiasm for woman.

It would be well worth raising here the question whether there was not something special both in the Greek consciousness itself and also in the conditions under which it reached maturity, which justified the Socratic attempt to idealise paiderastia. Placed upon the borderland of barbarism, divided from the Asiatic races by an acute but narrow line of demarcation, the Greeks had arrived at the first free notion of the spirit in its disentanglement from matter and from symbolism. But this notion of the spirit was still æsthetic, rather than strictly ethical or rigorously scientific. In the Greek gods intelligence is perfected and character is well defined; but these gods are always concrete persons, with corporeal forms adapted to their spiritual essence. The interpenetration of spiritual and corporeal elements in a complete personality, the transfusion of intellectual and emotional faculties throughout a physical organism exactly suited to their adequate expression, marks Greek religion and Greek art. What the Greeks worshipped in their ritual, what they represented in their sculpture, was always personality—the spirit and the flesh in amity and mutual correspondence; the spirit burning through the flesh and moulding it to individual forms; the flesh providing a fit dwelling for the spirit which controlled and fashioned it. Only philosophers among the Greeks attempted to abstract the spirit as a self-sufficient, independent, conscious entity; and these philosophers were few, and what they wrote or spoke had little direct influence upon the people. This being the mental attitude of the Greek race, it followed as a necessity that their highest emotional aspirations, their purest personal service, should be devoted to clear and radiant incarnations of the spirit in a living person. They had never been taught to regard the body with a sense of shame, but rather to admire it as the temple of the spirit, and to accept its needs and instincts with natural acquiescence. Male beauty disengaged for them the passion it inspired from service of domestic, social, civic

duties. The female form aroused desire, but it also suggested maternity and obligations of the household. The male form was the most perfect image of the deity, self-contained, subject to no necessities of impregnation, determined in its action only by the laws of its own reason and its own volition.

Quite a different order of ideas governed the ideal adopted by medieval chivalry. The spirit in its self-sufficingness, detached from the body, antagonistic to the body, had been divinised by Christianity. Woman regarded as a virgin and at the same time a mother, the maiden-mother of God made man, had been exalted to the throne of heaven. The worship of woman became, by a natural and logical process, the correlative in actual human life for that worship of the incarnate Deity which was the essence of religion. A remarkable point in medieval love is that the sensual appetites were, theoretically at least, excluded from the homage paid to woman. It was not the wife or the mistress, but the lady, who inspired the knight. Dante had children by Gemma, Petrarch had children by an unknown concubine, but it was the sainted Beatrice, it was the unattainable Laura, who received the homage of Dante and of Petrarch.

In like manner the sensual appetites were, theoretically at least, excluded from Platonic paiderastia. It was the divine in human flesh—*τῶν παιδικῶν ὄψις ἀστράπτουσα*, "the radiant sight of the beloved", to quote from Plato; *τὸ καλλίστον καὶ νοερότατον γηΐνων σωμάτων*, "the fairest and most intellectual of earthly bodies", to borrow a phrase from Maximus Tyrius—it was this which stimulated the Greek lover, just as a similar incarnation of divinity inspired the chivalrous lover. Thus we might argue that the Platonic conception of paiderastia furnishes a close analogue to the chivalrous devotion to women, due regard being paid to the differences which existed between the plastic ideal of Greek religion and the romantic ideal of medieval Christianity. The one veiled adultery, the other sodomy. That in both cases the conception was rarely realised in actual life only completes the parallel.

To pursue this inquiry further is, however, alien to my task. It is enough to have indicated the psychological agreement in respect of purified affection which underlay two such apparently antagonistic ideals of passion. Few modern writers, when they speak with admiration or con-

tempt of Platonic love, reflect that in its origin this phrase denoted an absorbing passion for young men. The Platonist, as appears from numerous passages in the Platonic writings, would have despised the Petrarchist as a vulgar woman-lover. The Petrarchist would have loathed the Platonist as a moral Pariah. Yet Platonic love, in both its Attic and its medieval manifestations, was one and the same thing.

The philosophical ideal of paiderastia in Greece which bore the names of Socrates and Plato met with little but contempt. Cicero, in a passage which has been echoed by Gibbon, remarked upon "the thin device of virtue and friendship which amused the philosophers of Athens."[1] Epicurus criticised the Stoic doctrine of paiderastia by sententiously observing that philosophers only differed from the common race of men in so far as they could better cloak their vice with sophistries. This severe remark seems justified by the opinions ascribed to Zeno by Plutarch, Sextus Empiricus, and Stobæus.[2] But it may be doubted whether the real drift of the Stoic theory of love, founded on *ἀδιάφορα* was understood. Lucian, in the *Amores*,[3] makes Charicles, the advocate of love for women, deride the Socratic ideal as vain nonsense, while Theomnestus, the man of pleasure, to whom the dispute is finally referred, decides that the philosophers are either fools or humbugs.[4] Daphnæus, in the erotic dialogue of Plutarch, arrives at a similar conclusion; and, in an essay on education, the same author contends that no prudent father would allow the sages to enter into intimacy with his sons.[5] The discredit incurred by philosophers in the later age of Greek culture is confirmed by more than one passage in Petronius and Juvenal, while Athenæus especially inveighs against philosophic lovers as acting against nature, *παρὰ φύσιν*.[6] The attempt of the Platonic Socrates to elevate

[1] *Tusc.*, iv, 33; *Decline and Fall*, cap. xliv, note 192.

[2] See Meier, cap. 15.

[3] Cap. 23. [4] Cap. 54. [5] Page 4.

[6] It is noticeable that in all ages men of learning have been obnoxiou to paiderastic passions. Dante says (*Inferno*, xv, 106):—

"In somma sappi, che tutti fur cherci,
E letterati grandi e di gran fama,
D' un medesmo peccato al mondo lerci."

Compare Ariosto, *Sätire*, vii.

without altering the morals of his race may therefore be said fairly to have failed. Like his republic, his love existed only in heaven.

XVI.

Philip of Macedon, when he pronounced the panegyric of the Sacred Band at Chæronea, uttered the funeral oration of Greek love in its nobler forms. With the decay of military spirit and the loss of freedom, there was no sphere left for that type of comradeship which I attempted to describe in Section IV. The philosophical ideal, to which some cultivated Attic thinkers had aspired, remained unrealised, except, we may perhaps suppose, in isolated instances. Meanwhile paiderastia as a vice did not diminish. It only grew more wanton and voluptuous. Little, therefore, can be gained by tracing its historical development further, although it is not without interest to note the mode of feeling and the opinion of some later poets and rhetoricians.

The idyllists are the only poets, if we except a few epigrammatists of the *Anthology*, who preserve a portion of the old heroic sentiment. No true student of Greek literature will have felt that he could strictly censure the paiderastic passages of the *Thalysia*, *Aïtes*, *Hylas*, *Paidika*. They have the ring of genuine and respectable emotion. This may also be said about the two fragments of Bion which begin ἔσπερε, τᾶς ἐρατᾶς, and ὄλβιοι οἱ φιλέοντες. The *Duserôs*, ascribed without due warrant to Theocritus, is in many respects a beautiful composition, but it lacks the fresh and manly touches of the master's style, and bears the stamp of an unwholesome rhetoric. Why, indeed, should we pity this suicide, and why should the statue of Love have fallen on the object of his admiration? Maximus Tyrius showed more sense when he contemptuously wrote about those men who killed themselves for love of a beautiful lad in Locri:[1] ἄξιοι μὲν θανάτου, "And in good sooth they deserved to die."

The dialogue entitled Ἔρωτες, attributed to Lucian, deserves a paragraph. More than any other composition of the rhetorical age of Greek literature, it attempts a comprehensive

[1] *Dissert.*, xxvi, 9.

treatment of erotic passion, and sums up the teaching of the doctors and the predilections of the vulgar in one treatise.[1] Like many of Lucian's compositions, it has what may be termed a retrospective and resumptive value. That is to say, it represents less the actual feeling of the author and his age than the result of his reading and reflection brought into harmony with his experience. The scene is laid at Cnidus, in the groves of Aphrodite. The temple and the garden and the statue of Praxiteles are described with a luxury of language which strikes the keynote of the dialogue. We have exchanged the company of Plato, Xenophon, or Æschines for that of a Juvenalian *Græculus*, a delicate æsthetic voluptuary. Every epithet smells of musk and every phrase is a provocative. The interlocutors are Callicratides the Athenian and Charicles the Rhodian. Callicratides kept an establishment of *exoleti;* when the down upon their chins had grown beyond the proper point—

πρῶτον ὑπηνήτῃ τῷ περ χαριεστάτη ἥβη,

"when the beard is just sprouting, when youth is in the prime of charm," they were drafted off to farms and country villages. Charicles maintained a harem of dancing-girls and flute-players. The one was φιλομείραξ ἐκμανῶς, "madly passionate for lads"; the other no less γυναικομανής, "mad for women". Charicles undertook the cause of women, Callicratides that of boys. Charicles began, The love of women is sanctioned by antiquity; it is natural; it endures through life; it alone provides pleasure for both sexes. Boys grow bearded, rough, and past their prime. Women always excite passion. Then Callicratides takes up his parable. Masculine love (ὁ ἄῤῥην ἔρως) combines virtue with pleasure. While the love of women is a physical necessity, the love of boys is a product of high culture and an adjunct of philosophy. Paiderastia may be either vulgar or celestial; the second will be sought by men of liberal education and good manners. Then follow contrasted pictures of the lazy woman and the manly youth.[2] The one provokes to sensuality, the other excites noble emulation in the ways of virile living. Lucian, summing up the arguments of the two pleaders, decides that Corinth must

[1] I am aware that the genuineness of the essay has been questioned.

[2] See above, p. 207.

give way to Athens, adding, γαμητέον μὲν ἅπασι, παιδεραστεῖν δὲ μόνοις φιλοσόφοις, "Marriage is open to all men, but the love of boys to philosophers only." This verdict is referred to Theomnestus, a Don Juan of both sexes. He replies that both boys and women are good for pleasure; the philosophical arguments of Callicratides are cant.

This brief abstract of Lucian's dialogue on love indicates the cynicism with which its author viewed the subject, using the whole literature and all the experience of the Greeks to support a thesis of pure hedonism. The sybarites of Cairo or Constantinople at the present moment might employ the same arguments, except that they would omit the philosophic cant of Callicratides.

There is nothing in extant Greek literature of a date anterior to the Christian era which is foul in the same sense as that in which the works of Roman poets (Catullus and Martial), Italian poets (Beccatelli and Baffo), and French poets (Scarron and Voltaire) are foul. Only purblind students will be unable to perceive the difference between the obscenity of the Latin races and that of Aristophanes. The difference, indeed, is wide and radical, and strongly marked. It is the difference between a race naturally gifted with a delicate, æsthetic sense of beauty, and one in whom that sense was always subject to the perturbation of gross instincts. But with the first century of the new age a change came over even the imagination of the Greeks. Though they never lost their distinction of style, that precious gift of lightness and good taste conferred upon them with their language, they borrowed something of their conquerors' vein. This makes itself felt in the *Anthology*. Straton and Rufinus suffered the contamination of the Roman genius, stronger in political organisation than that of Hellas, but coarser and less spiritually tempered in morals and in art. Straton was a native of Sardis, who flourished in the second century. He compiled a book of paiderastic poems, consisting in a great measure of his own and Meleager's compositions, which now forms the twelfth section of the *Palatine Anthology*. This book he dedicated, not to the Muse, but to Zeus; for Zeus was the boy-lover among deities:[1] he bade it carry forth his

[1] Μοῦσα παιδική, i.

message to fair youths throughout the world;[1] and he claimed a special inspiration from heaven for singing of one sole subject, paiderastia.[2] It may be said with truth that Straton understood the bent of his own genius. We trace a blunt earnestness of intention in his epigrams, a certainty of feeling and directness of artistic treatment, which show that he had only one object in view. Meleager has far higher qualities as a poet, and his feeling, as well as his style, is more exquisite. But he wavered between the love of boys and women, seeking in both the satisfaction of emotional yearnings which in the modern world would have marked him as a sentimentalist. The so-called Μοῦσα παιδική, "Muse of Boyhood", is a collection of two hundred and fifty-eight short poems, some of them of great artistic merit, in praise of boys and boy-love. The commonplaces of these epigrams are Ganymede and Erôs:[3] we hear but little of Aphrodite—her domain is the other section of the *Anthology*, called Erotika. A very small percentage of these compositions can be described as obscene:[4] none are nasty in the style of Martial or Ausonius; some are exceedingly picturesque;[5] a few are written in a strain of lofty or of lovely music;[6] one or two are delicate and subtle in their humour.[7] The whole collection supplies good means of judging how the Greeks of the decadence felt about this form of love. Μαλακία is the real condemnation of this poetry, rather than brutality or coarseness. A favourite topic is the superiority of boys over girls. This sometimes takes a gross form;[8] but once or twice the treatment of the subject touches a real psychological distinction, as in the following epigram:[9]—

οὔ μοι θῆλυς ἔρως ἐγκάρδιος, ἀλλά με πυρσοὶ
ἄρσενες ἀσβέστῳ θῆκαν ὑπ' ἀνθρακίῃ.
πλειότερον τόδε θάλπος· ὅσον δυνατώτερος ἄρσην
θηλυτέρης, τόσσον χὠ πόθος ὀξύτερος.

"The love of women is not after my heart's desire; but the fires of male

[1] Μοῦσα παιδική, 208. [2] *Ibid.*, 258, 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, 70, 65, 69, 194, 220, 221, 67, 68, 78, and others.
[4] Perhaps ten are of this sort. [5] 8, 125, for example.
[6] 132, 256, 221. [7] 219. [8] 7. [9] 17. Compare 86.

desire have placed me under inextinguishable coals of burning. The heat there is mightier; for the more powerful is male than female, the keener is that desire."

These four lines give the key to much of the Greek preference for paiderastia. The love of the male, when it has been apprehended and entertained, is more exciting, they thought, more absorbant of the whole nature, than the love of the female. It is, to use another kind of phraseology, more of a mania and more of a disease.

With the *Anthology* we might compare the curious ἐπιστολαὶ ἐρωτικαί of Philostratus.[1] They were in all probability rhetorical compositions, not intended for particular persons; yet they indicate the kind of wooing to which youths were subjected in later Hellas.[2] The discrepancy between the triviality of their subject-matter and the exquisiteness of their diction is striking. The second of these qualities has made them a mine for poets. Ben Jonson, for example, borrowed the loveliest of his lyrics from the following *concetto*:—πέπομφά σοι στέφανον ῥόδων, οὐ σὲ τιμῶν, καὶ τουτο μὲν γάρ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς τι χαριζομένος τοις ῥόδοις, ἵνα μὴ μαρανθῇ. "I sent thee a crown of roses, not so much honouring thee, though this, too, was my meaning, but wishing to do some kindness to the roses that they might not wither." Take, again, the phrase, καὶ μὴν καὶ ἀυτὸς ὁ Ἔρως γυμνός ἐστι καὶ αἱ χάριτες καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες, "Well, and love himself is naked, and the graces and the stars;" or this, ὦ φθεγγόμενον ῥόδον, "O rose, that has a voice to speak with!" —or this metaphor for the footsteps of the beloved, ὦ ῥυθμοὶ ποδῶν φιλτάτων, ὦ φιλήματα ἐρηρεισμένα, "O rhythms of most beloved feet, O kisses pressed upon the ground!"

While the paiderastia of the Greeks was sinking into grossness, effeminacy, and æsthetic prettiness, the moral instincts of humanity began to assert themselves in earnest. It became part of the higher doctrine of the Roman Stoics to suppress this form of passion.[3] The Christians, from St.

[1] Ed. Kayser, pp. 343-366.

[2] It is worth comparing the letters of Philostratus with those of Alciphron, a contemporary of Lucian. In the latter there is no hint of paiderastia. The life of parasites, grisettes, lorettes, and young men about town at Athens is set forth in imitation probably of the later comedy. Athens is shown to have been a Paris *à la Murger*.

[3] See the introduction by Marcus Aurelius to his *Meditations*.

Paul onwards, instituted an uncompromising crusade against it. Theirs was no mere speculative warfare, like that of the philosophers at Athens. They fought with all the forces of their manhood, with the sword of the Lord and with the excommunications of the Church, to suppress what seemed to them an unutterable scandal. Dio Chrysostom, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Athanasius are our best authorities for the vices which prevailed in Hellas during the Empire;[1] the Roman law, moreover, proves that the civil governors aided the Church in its attempt to moralise the people on this point.

XVII.

The transmutation of Hellas proper into part of the Roman Empire, and the intrusion of Stoicism and Christianity into the sphere of Hellenic thought and feeling, mark the end of the Greek age. It still remains, however, to consider the relation of this passion to the character of the race, and to determine its influence.

In the fifth section of this essay I asserted that it is now impossible to ascertain whether the Greeks derived paiderastia from any of the surrounding nations, and if so, from which. Homer's silence makes it probable that the contact of Hellenic with Phœnician traders in the post-heroic period led to the adoption by the Greek race of a custom which they speedily assimilated and stamped with an Hellenic character. At the same time I suggested in the tenth section that paiderastia, in its more enthusiastic and martial form, may have been developed within the very sanctuary of Greek national existence by the Dorians, matured in the course of their migrations, and systematised after their settlement in Crete and Sparta. That the Greeks themselves regarded Crete as the classic ground of paiderastia favours either theory, and suggests a fusion of them both; for the geographical position of this island made it the meeting-place of Hellenes with the Asiatic races, while it was also one of the earliest Dorian acquisitions.

When we come to ask why this passion struck roots so

[1] See quotations in Rosenbaum, 119-140.

deep into the very heart and brain of the Greek nation, we must reject the favourite hypothesis of climate. Climate is, no doubt, powerful to a great extent in determining the complexion of sexual morality ; yet, as regards paiderastia we have abundant proof that nations of the North and of the South have, according to circumstances quite independent of climatic conditions, been both equally addicted and equally averse to this habit. The Etruscan,[1] the Chinese, the ancient Keltic tribes, the Tartar hordes of Timour Khan, the Persians under Moslem rule—races sunk in the sloth of populous cities as well as the nomadic children of the Asian steppes, have all acquired a notoriety at least equal to that of the Greeks. The only difference between these people and the Greeks in respect to paiderastia is that everything which the Greek genius touched acquired a portion of its distinction, so that what in semi-barbarous society may be ignored as vice, in Greece demands attention as a phase of the spiritual life of a world-historic nation.

Like climate, ethnology must also be eliminated. It is only a superficial philosophy of history which is satisfied with the nomenclature of Semitic, Aryan, and so forth ; which imagines that something is gained for the explanation of a complex psychological problem when hereditary affinities have been demonstrated. The deeps of national personality are far more abysmal than this. Granting that climate and descent are elements of great importance, the religious and moral principles, the æsthetic apprehensions, and the customs which determine the character of a race leave always something still to be analysed. In dealing with Greek paiderastia, we are far more likely to reach a probable solution if we confine our attention to the specific social conditions which fostered the growth of this passion in Greece, and to the general habit of mind which permitted its evolution out of the common stuff of humanity, than if we dilate at ease upon the climate of the Ægean, or discuss the ethnical complexion of the Hellenic stock. In other words, it was the Pagan view of human life and duty which gave scope to paiderastia, while certain special Greek customs aided its development.

[1] See Athen., xii, 517, for an account of their grotesque sensuality.

The Greeks themselves, quoted more than once above, have put us on the right track in this inquiry. However paiderastia began in Hellas, it was encouraged by gymnastics and syssitia. Youths and boys engaged together in athletic exercises, training their bodies to the highest point of physical attainment, growing critical about the points and proportions of the human form, lived of necessity in an atmosphere of mutual attention. Young men could not be insensible to the grace of boys in whom the bloom of beauty was unfolding. Boys could not fail to admire the strength and goodliness of men displayed in the comeliness of perfected development. Having exercised together in the wrestling-ground, the same young men and boys consorted at the common tables. Their talk fell naturally upon feats of strength and training; nor was it unnatural, in the absence of a powerful religious prohibition, that love should spring from such discourse and intercourse.

The nakedness which Greek custom permitted in gymnastic games and some religious rites no doubt contributed to the erotic force of masculine passion; and the history of their feeling upon this point deserves notice. Plato, in the *Republic* (452), observes that "not long ago the Greeks were of the opinion, which is still generally received among the barbarians, that the sight of a naked man was ridiculous and unseemly". He goes on to mention the Cretans and the Lacedæmonians as the institutors of naked games. To these conditions may be added dances in public, the ritual of gods like Erôs, ceremonial processions, and contests for the prize of beauty.

The famous passage in the first book of Thucydides (cap. vi) illustrates the same point. While describing the primitive culture of the Hellenes he thinks it worth while to mention that the Spartans, who first stripped themselves for running and wrestling, abandoned the girdle which it was usual to wear around the loins. He sees in this habit one of the strongest points of distinction between the Greeks and barbarians. Herodotus insists upon the same point (book i, 10), which is further confirmed by the verse of Ennius: Flagitii, &c.[1]

[1] Quoted above, p. 213, from Cicero.

The nakedness which Homer (*Iliad*, xxii, 66) and Tyrtæus (i, 21) describe as shameful and unseemly is that of an old man. Both poets seem to imply that a young man's naked body is beautiful even in death.

We have already seen that paiderastia as it existed in early Hellas was a martial institution, and that it never wholly lost its virile character. This suggests the consideration of another class of circumstances which were in the highest degree conducive to its free development. The Dorians, to begin with, lived like regiments of soldiers in barracks. The duty of training the younger men was thrown upon the elder; so that the close relations thus established in a race which did not positively discountenance the love of male for male rather tended actively to encourage it. Nor is it difficult to understand why the romantic emotions in such a society were more naturally aroused by male companions than by women. Matrimony was not a matter of elective affinity between two persons seeking to spend their lives agreeably and profitably in common, so much as an institution used by the state for raising vigorous recruits for the national army. All that is known about the Spartan marriage customs, taken together with Plato's speculations about a community of wives, proves this conclusively. It followed that the relation of the sexes to each other was both more formal and more simple than it is with us; the natural and the political purposes of cohabitation were less veiled by those personal and emotional considerations which play so large a part in modern life. There was less scope for the emergence of passionate enthusiasm between men and women, while the full conditions of a spiritual attachment, solely determined by reciprocal inclination, were only to be found in comradeship. In the wrestling-ground, at the common tables, in the ceremonies of religion, at the Panhellenic games, in the camp, in the hunting-field, on the benches of the council chamber, and beneath the porches of the Agora, men were all in all unto each other. Women meanwhile kept the house at home, gave birth to babies, and reared children till such time as the state thought fit to undertake their training. It is, moreover, well known that the age at which boys were separated from their mothers was tender. Thenceforth they lived with persons of their

own sex; their expanding feelings were confined within the sphere of masculine experience until the age arrived when marriage had to be considered in the light of a duty to the commonwealth. How far this tended to influence the growth of sentiment and to determine its quality may be imagined.

In the foregoing paragraph I have restricted my attention almost wholly to the Dorians: but what has just been said about the circumstance of their social life suggests a further consideration regarding paiderastia at large among the Greeks, which takes rank with the weightiest of all. The peculiar status of Greek women is a subject surrounded with difficulty; yet no one can help feeling that the idealisation of masculine love, which formed so prominent a feature of Greek life in the historic period, was intimately connected with the failure of the race to give their proper sphere in society to women. The Greeks themselves were not directly conscious of this fact; nor can I remember any passage in which a Greek has suggested that boy-love flourished precisely upon the special ground which had been wrested from the right domain of the other sex. Far in advance of the barbarian tribes around them, they could not well discern the defects of their own civilisation; nor was it to be expected that they should have anticipated that exaltation of the love of women into a semi-religious cult which was the later product of chivalrous Christianity. We, from the standpoint of a more fully organised society, detect their errors and pronounce that paiderastia was a necessary consequence of their unequal social culture; nor do we fail to notice that just as paiderastia was a post-Homeric intrusion into Greek life, so women, after the age of the Homeric poems, suffered a corresponding depression in the social scale. In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and in the tragedies which deal with the heroic age, they play a part of importance for which the actual conditions of historic Hellas offered no opportunities.

It was at Athens that the social disadvantages of women told with greatest force; and this perhaps may help to explain the philosophic idealisation of boy-love among the Athenians. To talk familiarly with free women on the deepest subjects, to treat them as intellectual companions, or to choose them as associates in undertakings of political

moment, seems never to have entered the mind of an Athenian. Women were conspicuous by their absence from all places of resort — from the palæstra, the theatre, the Agora, the Pnyx, the law-court, the symposium; and it was here, and here alone, that the spiritual energies of the men expanded. Therefore, as the military ardour of the Dorians naturally associated itself with paiderastia, so the characteristic passion of the Athenians for culture took the same direction. The result in each case was a highly wrought psychical condition, which, however alien to our instincts, must be regarded as an exaltation of the race above its common human needs—as a manifestation of fervid, highly pitched emotional enthusiasm.

It does not follow from the facts which I have just discussed that, either at Athens or at Sparta, women were excluded from an important position in the home, or that the family in Greece was not the sphere of female influence more active than the extant fragments of Greek literature reveal to us. The women of Sophocles and Euripides, and the noble ladies described by Plutarch, warn us to be cautious in our conclusions on this topic. The fact, however, remains that in Greece, as in medieval Europe, the home was not regarded as the proper sphere for enthusiastic passion: both paiderastia and chivalry ignored the family, while the latter even set the matrimonial tie at nought. It is therefore precisely at this point of the family, regarded as a comparatively undeveloped factor in the higher spiritual life of Greeks, that the two problems of paiderastia and the position of women in Greece intersect.

In reviewing the external circumstances which favoured paiderastia, it may be added, as a minor cause, that the leisure in which the Greeks lived, supported by a crowd of slaves, and attending chiefly to their physical and mental culture, rendered them peculiarly liable to pre-occupations of passion and pleasure-seeking. In the early periods, when war was incessant, this abundance of spare time, or σχολὴ, bore less corrupt fruit than during the stagnation into which the Greeks enslaved by Macedonia and Rome declined.

So far, I have been occupied in the present section with the specific conditions of Greek society which may be regarded as determining the growth of paiderastia. With respect to

the general habit of mind which caused the Greeks, in contradistinction to the Jews and Christians, to tolerate this form of feeling, it will be enough here to remark that Paganism could have nothing logically to say against it. The further consideration of this matter I shall reserve for the next division of my essay, contenting myself for the moment with the observation that Greek religion and the instincts of the Greek race offered no direct obstacle to the expansion of a habit which was strongly encouraged by the circumstances I have just enumerated.

XVIII.

Upon a topic of great difficulty, which is, however, inseparable from the subject-matter of this inquiry, I shall not attempt to do more than to offer a few suggestions. This is the relation of paiderastia to Greek art. Whoever may have made a study of antique sculpture will not have failed to recognise its healthy human tone, its ethical rightness. There is no partiality for the beauty of the male sex, no endeavour to reserve for the masculine deities the nobler attributes of man's intellectual and moral nature, no extravagant attempt to refine upon masculine qualities by the blending of feminine voluptuousness. Aphrodite and Artemis hold their place beside Erôs and Hermes. Ares is less distinguished by the genius lavished on him than Athene. Hera takes rank with Zeus, the Nymphs with the Fauns, the Muses with Apollo. Nor are even the minor statues, which belong to decorative rather than high art, noticeable for the attribution of sensual beauties to the form of boys. This, which is certainly true of the best age, is, with rare exceptions, true of all the ages of Greek plastic art. No prurient effeminacy degraded, deformed, or unduly confounded the types of sex idealised in sculpture.

The first reflection which must occur to even prejudiced observers is that paiderastia did not corrrupt the Greek imagination to any serious extent. The license of Paganism found appropriate expression in female forms, but hardly touched the male; nor would it, I think, be possible to demonstrate that obscene works of painting or of sculpture

were provided for paiderastic sensualists similar to those pornographic objects which fill the reserved cabinet of the Neapolitan Museum. Thus, the testimony of Greek art might be used to confirm the asseveration of Greek literature, that among free men, at least, and gentle, this passion tended even to purify feelings which in their lust for women verged on profligacy. For one androgynous statue of Hermaphroditus or Dionysus there are at least a score of luxurious Aphrodites and voluptuous Bacchantes. Erôs himself, unless he is portrayed, according to the Roman type of Cupid, as a mischievous urchin, is a youth whose modesty is no less noticeable than his beauty. His features are not unfrequently shadowed with melancholy, as appears in the so-called Genius of the Vatican, and in many statues which might pass for genii of silence or of sleep as well as love. It would be difficult to adduce a single wanton Erôs, a single image of this god provocative of sensual desires. There is not one before which we could say—The sculptor of that statue had sold his soul to paiderastic lust. Yet Erôs, it must be remembered, was the special patron of paiderastia.

Greek art, like Greek mythology, embodied a finely graduated half-unconscious analysis of human nature. The mystery of procreation was indicated by phalli on the Hermæ. Unbridled appetite found incarnation in Priapus, who, moreover, was never a Greek god, but a Lampsacene adopted from the Asian coast by the Romans. The natural desires were symbolised in Aphrodite Praxis, Kallipugos, or Pandemos. The higher sexual enthusiasm assumed celestial form in Aphrodite Ouranios. Love itself appeared personified in the graceful Erôs of Praxiteles; and how sublimely Pheidias presented this god to the eyes of his worshippers can now only be guessed at from a mutilated fragment among the Elgin marbles. The wild and native instincts, wandering, untutored and untamed, which still connect man with the life of woods and beasts and April hours, received half-human shape in Pan and Silenus, the Satyrs and the Fauns. In this department of semi-bestial instincts we find one solitary instance bearing upon paiderastia. The group of a Satyr tempting a youth at Naples stands alone among numerous similar compositions which have female or hermaphroditic figures, and which symbolise the violent and comprehensive

lust of brutal appetite. Further distinctions between the several degrees of love were drawn by the Greek artists. Himeros, the desire that strikes the spirit through the eyes, and Pothos, the longing of souls in separation from the object of their passion, were carved together with Erôs by Scopas for Aphrodite's temple at Megara. Throughout the whole of this series there is no form set aside for paiderastia, as might have been expected if the fancy of the Greeks had idealised a sensual Asiatic passion. Statues of Ganymede carried to heaven by the eagle are, indeed, common enough in Græco-Roman plastic art; yet even here there is nothing which indicates the preference for a specifically voluptuous type of male beauty.

It should be noticed that the mythology of the Greeks was determined before paiderastia laid hold upon the race. Homer and Hesiod, says Herodotus, made the Hellenic theogony, and Homer and Hesiod knew only of the passions and emotions which are common to all healthy semi-civilised humanity. The artists, therefore, found in myths and poems subject-matter which imperatively demanded a no less careful study of the female than of the male form; nor were beautiful women wanting. Great cities placed their maidens at the disposition of sculptors and painters for the modelling of Aphrodite. The girls of Sparta in their dances suggested groups of Artemis and Oreads. The Hetairai of Corinth presented every detail of feminine perfection freely to the gaze. Eyes accustomed to the ὄψις ἀστράπτουσα, "dazzling vision," of a naked athlete were no less sensitive to the virginal veiled grace of the Athenian Canephoroi. The temples of the female deities had their staffs of priestesses, and the oracles their inspired prophetesses. Remembering these facts, remembering also what we read about Æolian ladies who gained fame by poetry, there is every reason to understand how sculptors found it easy to idealise the female form. Nor need we imagine, because Greek literature abounds in references to paiderastia, and because this passion played an important part in Greek history, that therefore the majority of the race were not susceptible in a far higher degree to female charms. On the contrary, our best authorities speak of boy-love as a characteristic which distinguished warriors, gymnasts, poets, and philosophers

from the common multitude. As far as regards artists, the anecdotes which are preserved about them turn chiefly upon their preference for women. For one tale concerning the Pantarkes of Pheidias, we have a score relating to the Campaspe of Apelles and the Phryne of Praxiteles.

It may be judged superfluous to have proved that the female form was idealised in sculpture by the Hellenes at least as nobly as the male; nor need we seek elaborate reasons why paiderastia left no perceptible stain upon the art of a race distinguished before all things by the reserve of good taste. At the same time, there can be no reasonable doubt that the artistic temperament of the Greeks had something to do with its wide diffusion and many-sided development. Sensitive to every form of loveliness, and unrestrained by moral or religious prohibition, they could not fail to be enthusiastic for that corporeal beauty, unlike all other beauties of the human form, which marks male adolescence no less triumphantly than does the male soprano voice upon the point of breaking. The power of this corporeal loveliness to sway their imagination by its unique æsthetic charm is abundantly illustrated in the passages which I have quoted above from the *Charmides* of Plato and Xenophon's *Symposium*. An expressive Greek phrase, ὡραῖοι καλοὶ δὲ μή, "youths in their prime of adolescence, but not distinguished by a special beauty", recognises the persuasive influence, separate from that of true beauty, which belongs to a certain period of masculine growth. The very evanescence of this ὥρα, "bloom of youth", made it in Greek eyes desirable, since nothing more clearly characterises the poetic myths which adumbrate their special sensibility than the pathos of a blossom that must fade. When distinction of feature and symmetry of form were added to this charm of youthfulness, the Greeks admitted, as true artists are obliged to do, that the male body displays harmonies of proportion and melodies of outline more comprehensive, more indicative of strength expressed in terms of grace, than that of women.[1] I guard myself against saying

[1] The following passage may be extracted from a letter of Winckelmann (see Pater's *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*, p. 162): "As it is confessedly the beauty of man which is to be conceived under one general idea, so I have noticed that those who are observant of beauty only in women, and are moved little or not at all by the beauty of men, seldom

—more seductive to the senses, more soft, more delicate, more undulating. The superiority of male beauty does not consist in these attractions, but in the symmetrical development of all the qualities of the human frame, the complete organisation of the body as the supreme instrument of vital energy. In the blooom of adolescence the elements of feminine grace, suggested rather than expressed, are combined with virility to produce a perfection which is lacking to the mature and adult excellence of either sex. The Greek lover, if I am right in the idea which I have formed of him, sought less to stimulate desire by the contemplation of sensual charms than to attune his spirit with the spectacle of strength at rest in suavity. He admired the chastened lines, the figure slight but sinewy, the limbs well-knit and flexible, the small head set upon broad shoulders, the keen eyes, the austere reins, and the elastic movement of a youth made vigorous by exercise. Physical perfection of this kind suggested to his fancy all that he loved best in moral qualities. Hardihood, self-discipline, alertness of intelligence, health, temperance, indomitable spirit, energy, the joy of active life, plain living and high thinking—these qualities the Greeks idealised, and of these τῶν παιδικῶν ὄψις ἀστράπτουσα, "the lightning vision of the darling", was the living incarnation. There is plenty in their literature to show that paiderastia obtained sanction from the belief that a soul of this sort would be found within the body of a young man rather than a woman. I need scarcely add that none but a race of artists could be lovers of this sort, just as none but a race of poets were adequate to apprehend the chivalrous enthusiasm for women as an object of worship.

The morality of the Greeks, as I have tried elsewhere to prove, was æsthetic. They regarded humanity as a part of a good and beautiful universe, nor did they shrink from any of their normal instincts. To find the law of human energy, the

have an impartial, vital, inborn instinct for beauty in art. To such persons the beauty of Greek art will ever seem wanting, because its supreme beauty is rather male than female." To this I think we ought to add that, while it is true that "the supreme beauty of Greek art is rather male than female", this is due not so much to any passion of the Greeks for male beauty as to the fact that the male body exhibits a higher organisation of the human form than the female.

measure of man's natural desires, the right moment for indulgence and for self-restraint, the balance which results in health, the proper limit for each several function which secures the harmony of all, seemed to them the aim of ethics. Their personal code of conduct ended in σωφροσύνη, "modest self-restraint": not abstention, but selection and subordination ruled their practice. They were satisfied with controlling much that more ascetic natures unconditionally suppress. Consequently, to the Greeks there was nothing at first sight criminal in paiderastia. To forbid it as a hateful and unclean thing did not occur to them. Finding it within their hearts, they chose to regulate it, rather than to root it out. It was only after the inconveniences and scandals to which paiderastia gave rise had been forced upon their notice, that they felt the visitings of conscience and wavered in their fearless attitude.

In like manner the religion of the Greeks was æsthetic. They analysed the world of objects and the soul of man, unconsciously perhaps, but effectively, and called their generalisations by the names of gods and goddesses. That these were beautiful and filled with human energy was enough to arouse in them the sentiments of worship. The notion of a single Deity who ruled the human race by punishment and favour, hating certain acts while he tolerated others—in other words, a God who idealised one part of man's nature to the exclusion of the rest—had never passed into the sphere of Greek conceptions. When, therefore, paiderastia became a fact of their consciousness, they reasoned thus: If man loves boys, God loves boys also. Homer and Hesiod forgot to tell us about Ganymede and Hyacinth and Hylas. Let these lads be added to the list of Danaë and Semele and Io. Homer told us that, because Ganymede was beautiful, Zeus made him the serving-boy of the immortals. We understand the meaning of that tale. Zeus loved him. The reason why he did not leave him here on earth like Danaë was that he could not beget sons upon his body and people the earth with heroes. Do not our wives stay at home and breed our children? Our παιδικά, "our favourite youths", are always at our side.

XIX.

Sexual inversion among Greek women offers more difficulties than we met with in the study of paiderastia. This is due, not to the absence of the phenomenon, but to the fact that feminine homosexual passions were never worked into the social system, never became educational and military agents. The Greeks accepted the fact that certain females are congenitally indifferent to the male sex, and appetitive of their own sex. This appears from the myth of Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium*, which expresses in comic form their theory of sexual differentiation. There were originally human beings of three sexes: men, the offspring of the sun; women, the offspring of the earth; hermaphrodites, the offspring of the moon. They were round with two faces, four hands, four feet, and two sets of reproductive organs apiece. In the case of the third (hermaphroditic or lunar) sex, one set of reproductive organs was male, the other female. Zeus, on account of the insolence and vigour of these primitive human creatures, sliced them into halves. Since that time the halves of each sort have always striven to unite with their corresponding halves, and have found some satisfaction in carnal congress—males with males, females with females, and (in the case of the lunar or hermaphroditic creatures) males and females with one another. Philosophically, then, the homosexual passion of female for female, and of male for male, was placed upon exactly the same footing as the heterosexual passion of each sex for its opposite. Greek logic admitted the homosexual female to equal rights with the homosexual male, and both to the same natural freedom as heterosexual individuals of either species.

Although this was the position assumed by philosophers, Lesbian passion, as the Greeks called it, never obtained the same social sanction as boy-love. It is significant that Greek mythology offers no legends of the goddesses parallel to those which consecrated paiderastia among the male deities. Again, we have no recorded example, so far as I can remember, of noble friendships between women rising into political and historical prominence. There are no female analogies to Harmodius and Aristogeiton, Cratinus

and Aristodemus. It is true that Sappho and the Lesbian poetesses gave this female passion an eminent place in Greek literature. But the Æolian women did not found a glorious tradition corresponding to that of the Dorian men. If homosexual love between females assumed the form of an institution at one moment in Æolia, this failed to strike roots deep into the subsoil of the nation. Later Greeks, while tolerating, regarded it rather as an eccentricity of nature, or a vice, than as an honourable and socially useful emotion. The condition of women in ancient Hellas sufficiently accounts for the result. There was no opportunity in the harem or the zenana of raising homosexual passion to the same moral and spiritual efficiency as it obtained in the camp, the palæstra, and the schools of the philosophers. Consequently, while the Greeks utilised and ennobled boy-love, they left Lesbian love to follow the same course of degeneracy as it pursues in modern times.

In order to see how similar the type of Lesbian love in ancient Greece was to the form which it assumed in modern Europe, we have only to compare Lucian's Dialogues with Parisian tales by Catulle Mendès or Guy de Maupassant. The woman who seduces the girl she loves, is, in the girl's phrase, "over-masculine", "androgynous". The Megilla of Lucian insists upon being called Megillos. The girl is a weaker vessel, pliant, submissive to the virago's sexual energy, selected from the class of meretricious *ingénues*.

There is an important passage in the *Amores* of Lucian which proves that the Greeks felt an abhorrence of sexual inversion among women similar to that which moderns feel for its manifestation among men. Charicles, who supports the cause of normal heterosexual passion, argues after this wise:

"If you concede homosexual love to males, you must in justice grant the same to females; you will have to sanction carnal intercourse between them; monstrous instruments of lust will have to be permitted, in order that their sexual congress may be carried out; that obscene vocable, tribad, which so rarely offends our ears—I blush to utter it—will become rampant, and Philænis will spread androgynous orgies throughout our harems."

What these monstrous instruments of lust were (ὄλισβος, βαυβῶν) may be gathered from the sixth mime of Herodas,

where one of them is described in detail. Philænis may, perhaps, be the poetess of an obscene book on sensual refinements, to whom Athanæus alludes (*Deipnosophistæ*, viii, 335). It is also possible that Philænis had become the common designation of a Lesbian lover, a tribad. In the later periods of Greek literature, as I have elsewhere shown, certain fixed masks of Attic comedy (corresponding to the masks of the Italian *Commedia dell' Arte*) created types of character under conventional names—so that, for example, Cerdo became a cobbler, Myrtalë a common whore, and possibly Philænis a Lesbian invert.

The upshot of this parenthetical investigation is to demonstrate that, while the love of males for males in Greece obtained moralisation, and reached the high position of a recognised social function, the love of female for female remained undeveloped and unhonoured, on the same level as both forms of homosexual passion in the modern European world are.

XX.

Greece merged in Rome; but, though the Romans aped the arts and manners of the Greeks, they never truly caught the Hellenic spirit. Even Virgil only trod the court of the Gentiles of Greek culture. It was not, therefore, possible that any social custom so peculiar as paiderastia should flourish on Latin soil. Instead of Cleomenes and Epameinondas, we find at Rome Nero the bride of Sporus and Commodus the public prostitute. Alcibiades is replaced by the Mark Antony of Cicero's *Philippic*. Corydon, with artificial notes, takes up the song of Ageanax. The melodies of Meleager are drowned in the harsh discords of Martial. Instead of love, lust was the deity of the boy-lover on the shores of Tiber.

In the first century of the Roman Empire Christianity began its work of reformation. When we estimate the effect of Christianity, we must bear in mind that the early Christians found Paganism disorganised and humanity rushing to a precipice of ruin. Their first efforts were directed toward checking the sensuality of Corinth, Athens, Rome, the capitals of Syria and Egypt. Christian asceticism, in the corruption of the Pagan systems, led logically to the

cloister and the hermitage. The component elements of society had been disintegrated by the Greeks in their decadence, and by the Romans in their insolence of material prosperity. To the impassioned followers of Christ nothing was left but separation from nature, which had become incurable in its monstrosity of vices. But the convent was a virtual abandonment of social problems.

From this policy of despair, this helplessness to cope with evil and this hopelessness of good on earth, emerged a new and nobler synthesis, the merit of which belongs in no small measure to the Teutonic converts to the Christian faith. The Middle Ages proclaimed through chivalry the truth, then for the first time fully apprehended, that woman is the mediating and ennobling element in human life. Not in escape into the cloister, not in the self-abandonment to vice, but in the fellow-service of free men and women must be found the solution of social problems. The mythology of Mary gave religious sanction to the chivalrous enthusiasm ; and a cult of woman sprang into being to which, although it was romantic and visionary, we owe the spiritual basis of our domestic and civil life. The *modus vivendi* of the modern world was found.

HOMOSEXUALITY AMONG TRAMPS.

By Josiah Flynt.

I have made a rather minute study of the tramp class in the United States, England and Germany, but I know it best in the States. I have lived with the tramps there for eight consecutive months, besides passing numerous shorter periods in their company, and my acquaintance with them is nearly of ten years' standing. My purpose in going among them has been to learn about their life in particular and outcast life in general. This can only be done by becoming part and parcel of its manifestations.

There are two kinds of tramps in the United States—out-of-works and "hoboes". The out-of-works are not genuine vagabonds; they really want work and have no sympathy with the hoboes. The latter are the real tramps. They make a business of begging—a very good business too—and keep at it, as a rule, to the end of their days. Whisky and *Wanderlust*, or the love of wandering, are probably the main causes of their existence; but many of them are discouraged criminals, men who have tried their hand at crime and find that they lack criminal wit. They become tramps because they find that life "on the road" comes the nearest to the life they hoped to lead. They have enough talent to do very well as beggars, better, generally speaking, than the men who have reached the road simply as drunkards; they know more about the tricks of the trade and are cleverer in thinking out schemes and stories. All genuine tramps in America are, however, pretty much the same, as far as manners and philosophy are concerned, and all are equally welcome at the "hang-out."[1] The class of society from which they are drawn

[1] This is the home of the fraternity. Practically it is any corner where they can lay their heads; but, as a rule, it is either a lodging-house, a freight car, or a nest in the grass near the railway watering-tank.

is generally the very lowest of all, but there are some hoboes who have come from the very highest, and these latter are frequently as vicious and depraved as their less well-born brethren.

Concerning sexual inversion among tramps, there is a great deal to be said, and I cannot attempt to tell all I have heard about it, but merely to give a general account of the matter. Every hobo in the United States knows what "unnatural intercourse" means, talking about it freely, and, according to my finding, every tenth man practises it, and defends his conduct. Boys are the victims of this passion. The tramps gain possession of these boys in various ways. A common method is to stop for a while in some town, and gain acquaintance with the slum children. They tell these children all sorts of stories about life "on the road", how they can ride on the railways for nothing, shoot Indians, and be "perfeshunnels" (professionals), and they choose some boy who specially pleases them. By smiles and flattering caresses they let him know that the stories are meant for him alone, and before long, if the boy is a suitable subject, he smiles back just as slily. In time he learns to think that he is the favourite of the tramp, who will take him on his travels, and he begins to plan secret meetings with the man. The tramp, of course, continues to excite his imagination with stories and caresses, and some fine night there is one boy less in the town. On the road the lad is called a "prushun", and his protector a "jocker". The majority of prushuns are between ten and fifteen years of age, but I have known some under ten and a few over fifteen. Each is compelled by hobo law to let his jocker do with him as he will, and many, I fear, learn to enjoy his treatment of them. They are also expected to beg in every town they come to, any laziness on their part receiving very severe punishment.

How the act of unnatural intercourse takes place is not entirely clear; the hoboes are not agreed. From what I have personally observed I should say that it is usually what they call "leg work" (intercrural), but sometimes *immissio penis in anum*, the boy in either case lying on his stomach. I have heard terrible stories of the physical results to the boy of anal intercourse.

One evening, near Cumberland, Pennsylvania, I was an unwilling witness of one of the worst scenes that can be imagined. In company with eight hoboes, I was in a freight car attached to a slowly moving train. A coloured boy succeeded in scrambling into the car, and when the train was well under way again he was tripped up and "seduced" (to use the hobo euphemism) by each of the tramps. He made almost no resistance, and joked and laughed about the business as if he had expected it. This, indeed, I find to be the general feeling among the boys when they have been thoroughly initiated. At first they do not submit, and are inclined to run away or fight, but the men fondle and pet them, and after a while they do not seem to care. Some of them have told me that they get as much pleasure out of the affair as the jocker does. Even little fellows under ten have told me this, and I have known them to wilfully tempt their jockers to intercourse. What the pleasure consists in I cannot say. The youngsters themselves describe it as a delightful tickling sensation in the parts involved, and this is possibly all that it amounts to among the smallest lads. Those who have passed the age of puberty seem to be satisfied in pretty much the same way that the men are. Among the men the practice is decidedly one of passion. The majority of them prefer a prushun to a woman, and nothing is more severely judged than rape. One often reads in the newspapers that a woman has been assaulted by a tramp, but the perverted tramp is never the guilty party.

I believe, however, that there are a few hoboes who have taken to boys because women are so scarce "on the road". For every woman in hoboland there are a hundred men. That this disproportion has something to do with the popularity of boys is made clear by the following case: In a gaol, where I was confined for a month during my life in vagabondage, I got acquainted with a tramp who had the reputation of being a "sod" (sodomist). One day a woman came to the gaol to see her husband, who was awaiting trial. One of the prisoners said he had known her before she was married and had lived with her. The tramp was soon to be discharged and he inquired where the woman lived. On learning that she was still approachable, he looked her up immediately after his release, and succeeded in staying with

her for nearly a month. He told me later that he enjoyed his life with her much more than his intercouse with boys. I asked him why he went with boys at all, and he replied, "'Cause there aint women enough. If I can't get them I've got to have the other."

It is in gaols that one sees the worst side of this perversion. In the daytime the prisoners are let out into a long hall, and can do much as they please; at night they are shut up, two and even four in a cell. If there are any boys in the crowd, they are made use of by all who care to have them. If they refuse to submit, they are gagged and held down. The sheriff seldom knows what goes on, and for the boys to say anything to him would be suicidal. There is a criminal ignorance all over the States concerning the life in these gaols, and things go on that would be impossible in any well-regulated prison. In one of these places I once witnessed the fiercest fight I have ever seen among hoboes; a boy was the cause of it. Two men said they loved him, and he seemed to return the affection of both with equal desire. A fight with razors was suggested to settle who should have him.[1] The men prepared for action, while the crowd gathered round to watch. They slashed away for over half an hour, cutting each other terribly, and then their backers stopped them for fear of fatal results. The boy was given to the one who was hurt the least.

Jealousy is one of the first things one notices in connection with this passion. I have known men to withdraw entirely from the "hang-out" life simply to be sure that their prushuns were not touched by other tramps. Such attachments frequently last for years, and some boys remain with their first jockers until they are "emancipated".

Emancipation means freedom to "snare" some other boy, and make him submit as the other had been obliged to submit when younger. As a rule, the prushun is freed when he is able to protect himself. If he can defend his "honour" from all who come, he is accepted into the class of "old stagers", and may doas he likes. This is the one reward held out to prushuns during their apprenticeship. They are

[1] All hoboes carry razors, both for shaving and for defence. Strange to say, they succeed in smuggling them into gaols, as they are never searched thoroughly.

told that some day they can have a boy and use him as they have been used. Thus hoboland is always sure of recruits.

It is difficult to say how many tramps are sexually inverted. It is not even certainly known how many vagabonds there are in the country. I have stated in one of my papers on tramps that, counting the boys, there are between fifty and sixty thousand genuine hoboes in the United States. A vagabond in Texas who saw this statement wrote me that he considered my estimate too low. The newspapers have criticised it as too high, but they are unable to judge. If my figures are, as I believe, approximately correct, the sexually perverted tramps may be estimated at between five and six thousand; this includes men and boys.

I have been told lately by tramps that the boys are less numerous than they were a few years ago. They say that it is now a risky business to be seen with a boy, and that it is more profitable, as far as begging is concerned, to go without them. Whether this means that the passion is less fierce than it used to be, or that the men find sexual satisfaction among themselves, I cannot say definitely. But from what I know of their disinclination to adopt the latter alternative, I am inclined to think that the passion may be dying out somewhat. I am sure that women are not more numerous "on the road" than formerly, and that the change, if real, has not been caused by them. So much for my finding in the United States.

In England, where I have also lived with tramps for some time, I have found very little contrary sexual feeling. In Germany also, excepting in prisons and workhouses, it seems very little known among vagabonds. There are a few Jewish wanderers (sometimes pedlars) who are said to have boys in their company, and I am told that they use them as the hoboes in the United States use their boys, but I cannot prove this from personal observation. In England I have met a number of male tramps who had no hesitation in declaring their preference for their own sex, and particularly for boys, but I am bound to say that I have seldom seen them with boys; as a rule they were quite alone, and they seem to live chiefly by themselves.

It is a noteworthy fact that both in England and Germany there are a great many women "on the road," or, at all

events, so near it that intercourse with them is easy and cheap. In Germany almost every town has its quarter of "Stadt-Schieze"[1]—women who sell their bodies for a very small sum. They seldom ask over thirty or forty pfennigs for a night, which is usually spent in the open air. In England it is practically the same thing. In all the large cities there are women who are glad to do business for three or four pence, and those "on the road" for even less.

The general impression made on me by the sexually perverted men I have met in vagabondage is that they are abnormally masculine. In their intercourse with boys they always take the active part. The boys have in some cases seemed to me uncommonly feminine, but not as a rule. In the main they are very much like other lads, and I am unable to say whether their liking for the inverted relationship is inborn or acquired. That it is, however, a genuine liking, in altogether too many instances, I do not in the least doubt. As such, and all the more because it is such, it deserves to be more thoroughly investigated and more reasonably treated.

[1] This word is of Hebrew origin, and means girl (*Mädchen*).

APPENDIX C.

ULRICHS'S VIEWS.

By J. A. Symonds.

It can hardly be said that inverted sexuality received serious and sympathetic treatment until a German jurist, named Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, began his long warfare against what he considered to be prejudice and ignorance upon a topic of the greatest moment to himself. A native of Hanover, and writing at first under the assumed name of Numa Numantius, he kept pouring out a series of polemical, analytical, theoretical, and apologetical pamphlets between the years 1864 and 1870. The most important of these works is a lengthy and comprehensive essay entitled *Memnon: Die Geschleschtsnatur des mannliebenden Urnings. Eine naturwissentschaftliche Darstellung*, Schleiz, 1868. *Memnon* may be used as the text-book of its author's theories; but it is also necessary to study earlier and later treatises—*Inclusa*, *Formatrix*, *Vindex*, *Ara Spei*, *Gladius Furens*, *Incubus*, *Argonauticus*, *Prometheus*, *Araxes*, *Kritische Pfeile*—in order to obtain a complete knowledge of his opinions, and to master the whole mass of information he has brought together.

The object of Ulrichs in these miscellaneous writings is twofold. He seeks to establish a theory of sexual inversion upon the basis of natural science, proving that abnormal instincts are inborn and healthy in a considerable percentage of human beings; that they do not owe their origin to bad habits of any kind, to hereditary disease or to wilful depravity; that they are incapable in the majority of cases of being extirpated or converted into normal channels; and that the men subject to them are neither physically, intellectually, nor morally inferior to normally constituted individuals. Having demonstrated these points to his own satisfaction, and supported his views with a large induction of instances and a respectable show of erudition, he proceeds to argue that the present state of the law in many states of Europe

is flagrantly unjust to a class of innocent persons, who may, indeed, be regarded as unfortunate and inconvenient, but who are guilty of nothing which deserves reprobation and punishment. In this second and polemical branch of his exposition, Ulrichs assumes, for his juristic starting-point, that each human being is born with natural rights, which legislation ought not to infringe but to protect. He does not attempt to confute the utilitarian theory of jurisprudence, which regards laws as regulations made by the majority in the supposed interests of society. Yet a large amount of his reasoning is designed to invalidate utilitarian arguments in favour of repression, by showing that no social evil ensues in those countries which have placed abnormal sexuality upon the same footing as the normal, and that the toleration of inverted passion threatens no danger to the well-being of nations.

After this prelude, an abstract of Ulrichs's theory and his pleading may be given, deduced from the comparative study of his numerous essays.

The right key to the solution of the problem is to be found in physiology, in that obscure department of natural science which deals with the evolution of sex. The embryo, as we are now aware, contains an undetermined element of sex during the first months of pregnancy. This is gradually worked up into male and female organs of procreation, and these, when the age of puberty arrives, are generally accompanied by corresponding male and female appetites. That is to say, the man in an immense majority of cases desires the woman, and the woman desires the man. Nature, so to speak, aims at differentiating the undecided fœtus into a human being of one or the other sex, the propagation of the species being the main object of life. Still, as Aristotle puts it, and as we observe in many of her operations, "Nature wishes, but has not always the power."

Consequently, in respect of physical structure, there come to light imperfect individuals, so-called hermaphrodites, whose sexual apparatus is so far undetermined, that many a real male has passed a portion of his life under a mistake, has worn female clothes, and has cohabited by preference with men. Likewise, in respect of spiritual nature, there appear males who, notwithstanding their marked masculine organisa-

tion, feel from the earliest childhood a sexual proclivity towards men, with a corresponding indifference for women. In some of these abnormal, but natural, beings, the appetite for men resembles the normal appetite for women: in others it resembles the normal appetite of women for men. That is to say, some prefer effeminate males, dressed in female clothes and addicted to female occupations. Others prefer powerful adults of an ultra-masculine stamp, A third class manifest their predilection for healthy young men in the bloom of adolescence, between nineteen and twenty. The attitude of such persons toward women also varies. In genuine cases of inborn sexual inversion a positive horror is felt when the woman has to be carnally known; and this horror is of the same sort as that which normal men experience when they think of cohabitation with a male. In others the disinclination does not amount to repugnance; but the abnormal man finds considerable difficulty in stimulating himself to the sexual act with females, and derives a very imperfect satisfaction from the same. A certain type of man, in the last place, seems to be indifferent, desiring men at one time and women at another.

In order to gain clearness in his exposition, Ulrichs has invented names for these several species. The so-called hermaphrodite he dismisses with the German designation of Zwitter. Imperfect individuals of this type are not to be considered, because it is well known that the male and female organs are never developed in one and the same body. It is also, as we shall presently discover, an essential part of his theory to regard the problem of inversion psychologically.

The normal man he calls Dioning, the abnormal man Urning. Among Urnings, those who prefer effeminate males are christened by the name of Mannling; those who prefer powerful and masculine adults receive the name of Weibling; the Urning who cares for adolescents is styled a Zwischen-Urning. Men who seem to be indifferently attracted by both sexes, he calls Uranodionings. A genuine Dioning, who, from lack of women, or under the influence of special circumstances, consorts with persons of his own sex, is denominated Uraniaster. A genuine Urning, who has put restraint upon his inborn impulse, who has forced himself to cohabit with

women, or has perhaps contracted marriage, is said to be *virilisirt*—a virilized Urning.

These outlandish names, though seemingly pedantic and superfluous, have their technical value, and are necessary to the proper understanding of Ulrichs's system. He is dealing exclusively with individuals classified by common parlance as males without distinction. Ulrichs believes that he can establish a real natural division between men proper, whom he calls Dionings, and males of an anomalous sexual development, whom he calls Urnings. Having proceeded so far, he finds the necessity of distinguishing three broad types of the Urning, and of making out the crosses between Urning and Dioning, of which he also finds three species. It will appear in the sequel that, whatever may be thought about his psychological hypothesis, the nomenclature he has adopted is useful in discussion, and corresponds to well-defined phenomena, of which we have abundant information. The following table will make his analysis sufficiently plain.

The Human Male
- (1) Man or Dioning—Uraniaster, when he has acquired the tastes of the Urning.
- (2) Urning—
 - Mannling,
 - Weibling.
 - Zwischen-Urning.
 - Virilised-Urning.
- (3) Uranodioning
- (4) Hermaphrodite

Broadly speaking, the male includes two main species: Dioning and Urning, men with normal and men with abnormal instincts. What, then, constitutes the distinction between them? How are we justified in regarding them as radically divergent?

Ulrichs replies that the phenomena of sexual inversion is to be explained by physiology, and particularly by the evolution of the embryo. The notion that human beings were originally hermaphroditic is both ancient and widespread. We find it in the Book of Genesis, unless, indeed, there be a confusion here between two separate theories of creation. God is said to have first made man in his image, male and female in one body, and to have bidden them multiply. Later on he created the woman out of part of this primitive man. The myth related by Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium*

has a curious bearing upon Ulrichs's speculations. There were originally human beings of three sexes: men, the children of the sun; women, the children of the earth; and hermaphrodites, the children of the moon. They were round, with two faces, four feet, and two sets of reproductive organs apiece. In the case of the third sex one set was male, the other female. Zeus, on account of their strength and insolence, sliced them into halves. Since that time the halves of each sort have always striven to unite with their corresponding halves, and have found some satisfaction in carnal congress—males with males, females with females, and males and females with each other:

"They who are a section of the male follow the male, and while they are young, being slices of the original man, they hang about men and embrace them, and they are themselves the best of boys and youths, because they have the most manly nature. And when they reach manhood they are lovers of youth, and are not naturally inclined to marry or beget children, which they do, if at all, only in obedience to the law, but they are satisfied if they may be allowed to live with one another unwedded; and such a nature is prone to love and ready to return love, always embracing that which is akin to him" (*Symp.* 191-2, Jowett's translation).

Then follows a glowing description of Greek love, the whole reminding us very closely of the confessions made by Urnings in modern times, and preserved by medical or forensic writers on sexual inversion.

Nature fails to complete her work regularly and in every instance. Having succeeded in differentiating a male with full-formed sexual organs from the undecided fœtus, she does not always effect the proper differentiation of that portion of the psychical being in which resides the sexual appetite. There remains a female soul in a male body. *Anima muliebris virili corpore inclusa* is the formula adopted by Ulrichs; and he quotes a passsage from the *Vestiges of Creation* which suggests that the male is a more advanced product of sexual evolution than the female. The male instinct of sex is a more advanced product than the female instinct. Consequently, men appear whose body has been differentiated as masculine, but whose sexual instinct has not progressed beyond the feminine stage.[1]

[1] It is right to observe that in the last of his publications upon sexual inversion, Ulrichs considerably departed from his hypothesis of *anima*

Ulrichs's own words ought to be cited upon this fundamental part of his hypothesis, since he does not adopt the opinion that the Urning is a Dioning arrested at a certain point of development; but rather that there is an element of uncertainty attending the simultaneous evolution of physical and psychical factors from the indeterminate ground-stuff.

"Sex," says he, "is only an affair of development. Up to a certain stage of embryonic existence all living mammals are hermaphroditic. A certain number of them advance to the condition of what I call man (Dioning), others to what I call woman (Dioningin), a third class become what I call Urning (including Urningin). It ensues therefrom that between these three sexes there are no primary, but only secondary, differences. And yet true differences, constitnting sexual species, exist as facts."—*Memnon*, sec. xiv.

Man, woman, and Urning—the third being either a male or a female in whom we observe a real and inborn, not an acquired or a spurious, inversion of appetite—are consequently regarded by him as the three main divisions of humanity, viewed from the point of view of sex. The embryonic ground-stuff in the case of each was homologous; but, while the two former, man and woman, have been normally differentiated, the Urning's sexual instinct, owing to some

muliebris in corpore virili inclusa. (*Kritische Pfeile*, Stuttgart, 1879. See p. 95.) He says that those who wish to study the phenomenon must begin with that sort of Urning whom he calls Weibling. The *Weibling* is physically and spiritually complexioned after the female type; and in spite of male organs, is more of a woman than a man. From him, through several intermediate stages of the *Zwischen-Urning*, we arrive at the *Mannling*, who is physically and spiritually masculine in spite of his loving persons of his own sex. This process of sexual differentiation is further extended from the *Mannling*, through several intermediate stages, on to the normal *man*, who loves only women. A similar scale can be observed in the ascent from females who love their own sex with masculine passion up to those who have no love except for men. He points out that such gradual transition is not observable between Weibling and woman, or between man and woman; and he insists that the transition, by its very nature, excludes the hypothesis of disease. According to him, the real solution of the problem is to be found in embryology. What this argument amounts to is that we ought to regard all varieties and eccentricities of inborn sexual appetite as healthy deviations from what may be termed the normal standard. When we come to classify them, we discover a rhythm of subtly graduated differences extending from the extremity of sexual inversion up to the most positive type of ordinary sexual instinct.

imperfection in the process of development, does not correspond to his or her sexual organs.

The line of division between the sexes, even in adult life, is a subtle one; and the physical structure of men and women yields indubitable signs of their emergence from a common ground-stuff. Perfect men have rudimentary breasts. Perfect women carry a rudimentary penis in their clitoris. The raphé of the scrotum shows where the aperture, common at first to masculine and feminine beings, but afterwards only retained in the female vulva, was closed up to form a male. Other anatomical details of the same sort might be adduced. That gradual development, which ends in normal differentiation, goes on very slowly. It is only at the age of puberty that a boy distinguishes himself abruptly from a girl, by changing his voice and growing hair on parts of the body where it is not usually found in women. This being so, it is surely not surprising that the sexual appetite should sometimes fail to be normally determined, or, in other words, should be inverted.

Ulrichs maintains that the body of an Urning is masculine, his soul feminine, so far as sex is concerned. Accordingly, though physically unfitted for coition with men, he is imperatively drawn towards them by a natural impulse. Opponents meet him with this objection: "Your position is untenable. Body and soul constitute one inseparable entity." So they do, replies Ulrichs; but the way in which these factors of the person are combined in human beings differs extremely, as I can prove by indisputable facts. The body of a male is visible to the eyes, is measurable and ponderable, is clearly marked in its specific organs. But what we call his soul—his passions, inclinations, sensibilities, emotional characteristics, sexual desires—elude the observation of the senses. This second factor, like the first, existed in the undetermined stages of the fœtus. And when I find that the soul, this element of instinct and emotion and desire, existing in a male, has been directed in its sexual appetite from earliest boyhood toward persons of the male sex, I have the right to qualify it with the attribute of femininity. You assume that soul-sex is indissolubly connected and inevitably derived from body-sex. The facts contradict you, as I can prove by referring to the veracious

autobiographies of Urnings, and to known phenomena regarding them.

But Ulrichs seems to claim too much for the position he has won. He ignores the frequency of acquired habits. He shuts his eyes to the force of fashion and depravity. He reckons men like Horace and Ovid and Catullus, among the ancients, who were clearly indifferent in their tastes (as indifferent as the modern Turks), to the account of the Uranodionings. In one word, he is so enthusiastic for his physiological theory that he overlooks all other aspects of the question.

Let us turn, then, to the consideration of his arguments in favour of freeing Urnings from the terrible legal penalties to which they are at present subject, and, if this were possible, from the no less terrible social condemnation to which they are exposed by the repugnance they engender in the normally constituted majority. Dealing with these exceptions to the kindly race of men and women, these unfortunates who have no family ties knitted by bonds of mutual love, no children to expect, no reciprocity of passion to enjoy, mankind, says Ulrichs, has hitherto acted just in the same way as a herd of deer acts when it drives the sickly and the weakly out to die in solitude, burdened with contumely, and cut off from common sympathy.

From the point of view of morality and law, he argues, it does not signify whether we regard the sexual inversion of an Urning as morbid or as natural. He has become what he is, in the dawn and first emergence of emotional existence. You may contend that he derives perverted instincts from his ancestry, that he is the subject of a psychical disorder, that from his cradle he is predestined by atavism or disease to misery. I maintain that he is one of nature's sports, a creature healthy and well organised, evolved in her superb indifference to aberrations from the normal type. We need not quarrel over our solutions of the problem. The fact that he is there, among us, and that he constitutes an ever present factor in our social system, has to be faced. How are we to deal with him? Has society the right to punish individuals sent into the world with homosexual instincts? Putting the question at its lowest point, admitting that these persons are the victims of congenital morbidity, ought they to be treated

as criminals? It is established that their appetites, being innate, are to them at least natural and undepraved: the common appetites, being excluded from their sexual scheme, are to them unnatural and abhorrent. Ought not such beings, instead of being hunted down and persecuted by the law, to be regarded with pitying solicitude as among the most unfortunate of human beings, doomed as they are to inextinguishable longings and life-long deprivation of that which is the chief prize of man's existence on this planet, a reciprocated love? As your laws at present stand, you include all cases of sexual inversion under the one denomination of crime. You make exceptions in some special instances, and treat the men involved as lunatics. But the Urning is neither criminal nor insane. He is only less fortunate than you are, through an accident of birth, which is at present obscure to our imperfect science of sexual determination.

But here arises a difficulty, which cannot be ignored, since upon it is based the only valid excuse for the position taken up by society in dealing with this matter. Not all men and women possessed by abnormal sexual desires can claim that these are innate. It is certain that habits of sodomy are frequently acquired under conditions of exclusion from the company of persons of the other sex — as in public schools, barracks, prisons, convents, ships. In some cases they are deliberately adopted by natures tired of normal sexual pleasure. They may even become fashionable and epidemic. Lastly, it is probable that curiosity and imitation communicate them to otherwise normal individuals at a susceptible moment of development. Therefore, society has the right to say: Those who are the unfortunate subjects of inborn sexual inversion shall not be allowed to indulge their passions, lest the mischief should spread, and a vicious habit should contaminate our youth. From the ultilitarian point of view, society is justified in protecting itself against a minority of exceptional beings whom it regards as pernicious to the general welfare. From any point of view, the majority is strong enough to coerce the inborn instincts, and to trample on the anguish of a few unfortunates. But, asks Ulrichs, is this consistent with humanity, is it consistent with the august ideal of impartial equity? Are

people, sound in body, vigorous in mind, wholesome in habit, capable of generous affections, good servants of the state, trustworthy in all the ordinary relations of life, to be condemned at law as criminals, because they cannot feel sexually as the majority feel, because they find some satisfaction for their inborn want in ways which the majority dislike?

Seeking a solution of one difficulty stated in the foregoing paragraph, Ulrichs finds it in fact and history. His answer is that if society leaves nature to take her course, with the abnormal as with the normal subjects of sexual inclination, society will not suffer. In countries where legal penalties have been removed from inverted sexuality, where this is placed upon the same footing as the normal, no inconvenience has hitherto arisen. There has ensued no sudden and flagrant outburst of a depraved habit, no dissemination of a spreading moral poison. On the other hand, in countries where these penalties exist and are enforced—in England, for example, and in the metropolis of England, London—inverted sexuality runs riot, despite of legal prohibitions, despite of threats of prison, dread of exposure, and the intolerable pest of organised *chantage*. In the eyes of Ulrichs, society is engaged in sitting on a safety-valve, which, if nature were allowed to operate unhindered, would do society no harm, but rather good. The majority, he thinks, are not going to become Urnings, for the simple reason that they have not the unhappy constitution of the Urning. Cease to persecute Urnings, accept them as inconsiderable, yet real, factors in the social commonwealth, leave them to themselves; and you will not be the worse for it, and will also not carry on your conscience the burden of intolerant vindictiveness.

Substantiating this position, Ulrichs demonstrates that acquired habits of sexual inversion are almost invariably thrown off by normal natures. Your boys at public schools, he says, behave as though they were Urnings. In the lack of women, at the time when their passions are predominant, they yield themselves up together to mutual indulgences which would bring down your laws upon them with terrible effect as adults. You are aware of this. Yet you remain untroubled in your minds. And why? Because you feel convinced that they will return to their congenital instincts.

When the school, the barrack, the prison, the ship has

been abandoned, the male reverts to the female. This is the truth about Dionings. The large majority of men and women remain normal simply because they were made normal. They cannot find the satisfaction of their nature in those inverted practices to which they yielded for a time through want of normal outlet. Society risks little by the occasional caprice of the school, the barrack, the prison and the ship. Some genuine Urnings may, indeed, discover their inborn inclination by means of the process to which you subject them. But you are quite right in supposing that a Dioning, though you have forced him to become for a time an Uraniaster, will never in the long run appear as an Urning. The extensive experience which English people possess regarding such matters, owing to the notorious condition of their public schools, goes to confirm Ulrichs's position. Head-masters know how many Uraniasters they have dealt with, what excellent Dionings they become, and how comparatively rare, and yet how incorrigibly steadfast, are the genuine Urnings in their flock.

The upshot of this matter is that we are continually forcing our young men into conditions under which, if sexual inversion were an acquired attribute, it would become stereotyped in their natures. Yet it does not do so. Provisionally, because they are shut off from girls, because they find no other outlet for their sex at the moment of its most imperious claims, they turn towards males, and treat their younger schoolfellows in ways which would consign an adult to penal servitude. They are Uraniasters by necessity and *faute de mieux*. But no sooner are they let loose upon the world than the majority revert to normal channels. They pick up women in the streets, and form connections, as the phrase goes. Some undoubtedly, in this fiery furnace through which they have been passed, discover their inborn sexual inversion. Then, when they cannot resist their proclivity, you condemn them as criminals in their later years! Is that just? Would it not be better to revert from our civilisation to the manners of the savage man—to initiate youths into the mysteries of sex, and to give each, in his turn, the chance of developing a normal instinct by putting him during his time of puberty freely and frankly to the female? If you abhor Urnings, as you surely do, you are at least responsible

for their mishap by the extraordinary way in which you bring them up. At all events, when they develop into the eccentric beings which they are, you are the last people in the world who have any right to punish them with legal penalties, social obloquy.

Considering the present state of the law in most countries to be inequitable toward a respectable minority of citizens, Ulrichs proposes that Urnings should be placed upon the same footing as other men. That is to say, sexual relations between males and males should not be treated as criminal, unless they be attended with violence (as in the case of rape), or be carried on in such a way as to offend the public sense of decency (in places of general resort or in the public street), or, thirdly, be entertained between an adult and a boy under age (the protected age to be decided, as in the case of girls). What he demands is, that when an adult male, freely and of his own consent, complies with the proposals of an adult person of his own sex, and their intercourse takes place with due regard for public decency, neither party shall be liable to prosecution and punishment at law. [He seems, however, to have gone further than Symonds here states, and to have advocated marriages between persons of the same sex.]

If so much were conceded by the majority of normal people to the abnormal minority, continues Ulrichs, an immense amount of misery and furtive vice would be at once abolished. A defender of the present laws of Prussia, England, etc., might, indeed, reply: "This is opening a a free way to the seduction and corruption of young men." But young men are surely at least as capable of defending themselves against seduction and corruption as young women are. Nay, they are far more able, not merely because they are stronger, but because they are not usually weakened by an overpowering sexual instinct on which the seducer plays. Yet the seduction and corruption of young women is tolerated, in spite of the attendant consequences of illegitimate child-birth, and all which that involves. This toleration of the seduction of women by men springs from the assumption that only the normal sexual appetite is natural. The seduction of man by a male passes for criminal, because the inverted sexual instinct is regarded as unnatural, depraved and wilfully perverse. On the hypothesis that individuals

subject to perverted instincts can suppress them at pleasure or convert them into normal appetite, it is argued that they must be punished. But when the real facts come to be studied, it will be found: first, that these instincts are inborn in Urnings, and are, therefore, in their case natural; secondly, that the suppression of them is tantamount to life-long abstinence under the constant torture of sexual solicitation; thirdly, that the conversion of them into normal channels is in a large percentage of cases totally impossible, in nearly all where it has been attempted is only partially successful, and where marriage ensues has generally ended in misery for both parties. Ulrichs, it will be noticed, does not distinguish between Urnings, in whom the inversion is admitted to be congenital, and Uraniasters, in whom it has been acquired or deliberately adopted. And it would be very difficult to frame laws which should take separate cognisance of these two classes. The code Napoléon legalises the position of both, theoretically, at any rate. The English code treats both as criminal, doing thereby, it must be admitted, marked injustice to recognised Urnings, who, at the worst, are morbid or insane, or sexually deformed, through no fault of their own.

In the present state of things, adds Ulrichs, the men who yield their bodies to abnormal lovers do not do so merely out of compliance, sympathy, or the desire for reasonable reward. Too often they speculate upon the illegality of the connection, and have their main object in the extortion of money by threats of exposure. Thus, the very basest of all trades, that of *chantage*, is encouraged by the law. Alter the law, and, instead of increasing vice, you will diminish it; for a man who should then meet the advances of an Urning would do so out of compliance, or, as is the case with female prostitutes, upon the expectation of reasonable gain. The temptation to ply a disgraceful profession with the object of extorting money would be avoided. Moreover, as regards individuals alike abnormally constituted, voluntary and mutually satisfying relations, free from degrading risks, and possibly permanent, might be formed between responsible agents.

One serious objection to recognising and tolerating sexual inversion has always been that it tends to check the population. This was a sound political and social argument in the

time of Moses, when a small and militant tribe needed to multiply to the full extent of its procreative capacity. It is by no means so valid in our age, when the habitable portions of the globe are rapidly becoming overcrowded. Moreover, we must bear in mind that society, under the existing order, sanctions female prostitution, whereby men and women, the normally procreative, are sterilised to an indefinite extent. Logic, in these circumstances, renders it inequitable and ridiculous to deny a sterile exercise of sex to abnormal men and women, who are by instinct and congenital diathesis non-procreative.

As the result of these considerations, Ulrichs concludes that there is no real ground for the persecution of Urnings, except such as may be found in the repugnance felt by the vast numerical majority for an insignificant minority. The majority encourages matrimony, condones seduction, sanctions prostitution, legalises divorce, in the interests of its own sexual proclivities. It makes temporary or permanent unions illegal for the minority whose inversion of instinct it abhors. And this persecution, in the popular mind, at any rate, is justified, like many other inequitable acts of prejudice or ignorance, by theological assumptions and the so-called mandates of revelation.

In the next place, it is objected that inverted sexuality is demoralising to the manhood of a nation, that it degrades the dignity of man, and that it is incapable of moral elevation. With regard to the dignity of man, is there, asks Ulrichs, anything more degrading to humanity in sexual acts performed between male and male than in similar acts performed between male and female? Much of this talk about the dignity of man, says Ulrichs, proceeds from a vulgar misconception as to the nature of inverted sexual desire. People assume that Urnings seek their pleasure only or mainly in an act of unmentionable indecency. The exact opposite, he assures them, is the truth. The act in question is no commoner between men and men than it is between men and women. Ulrichs, upon this point, may be suspected, perhaps, as an untrustworthy witness. His testimony, however, is confirmed by Krafft-Ebing, who, as we have seen, has studied sexual inversion long and minutely from the point of view of psychical pathology. "As regards the

nature of their sexual gratification", he writes, "it must be established at the outset that the majority of them are contented with reciprocal embraces: the act commonly ascribed to them they generally abhor as much as normal men do; and, inasmuch as they always prefer adults, they are in no sense specially dangerous to boys". This author proceeds to draw a distinction between Urnings, in whom sexual inversion is congenital, and old debauchees or half-idiotic individuals, who are in the habit of misusing boys. The vulgar have confounded two different classes; and everybody who studies the psychology of Urnings is aware that this involves a grave injustice to the latter. Without appealing to antiquity, the records of which confute this objection overwhelmingly, one might refer to the numerous passages in Ulrichs's writings where he relates the fidelity, loyalty, self-sacrifice, and romantic enthusiasm which frequently accompany such loves, and raise them above baseness.

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR X.

Professor X., in a letter to Symonds (who described him as "an American of eminence, who holds a scientific professorship in one of the first universities of the world"), has carried to the furthest extent the theory of the sexual indifference of the genital impulse, and the consequently normal nature of homosexuality. He writes: "I have considered and enquired into this question for many years; and it has long been my settled conviction that no breach of morality is involved in homosexual love; that, like every other passion, it tends, when duly understood and controlled by spiritual feeling, to the physical and moral health of the individual and the race, and that it is only its brutal perversions which are immoral. I have known many persons more or less the subjects of this passion, and I have found them a particularly high-minded, upright, refined, and (I must add) pure-minded class of men. In view of what everybody knows of the vile influence on society of the intersexual passion, as it actually exists in the world, making men and women sensual, low-minded, false, every way unprincipled and grossly selfish, and this especially in those nations which self-righteously reject homosexual love, it seems a travesty of morality to invest the one with divine attributes and denounce the other as infamous and unnatural.

"There is an error in the view that feminine love is that which is directed to a man, and masculine love that which is directed to a woman. That doctrine involves a begging of the whole question. It is a fatal concession to vulgar prejudice, and a contradiction to all you have so firmly adduced from Greek manners, and, indeed, I may say, to all the *natural* evolution of our race. Passion is in itself a blind thing. It is a furious pushing out, not with calculation or comprehension of its object, but to anything which strikes the imagination as fitted to its need. It is not characterised

or differentiated by the nature of its object, but by its own nature. Its instinct is to a certain form of action or submission. But how that instinct is determined is largely accidental. Sexual passion is drawn by certain qualities which appeal to it. It may see them, or think that it sees them, in a man or a woman. But it is in either case the same person. The controlling influence is a certain spiritual attraction, and that may lie in either. The two directions are equally natural to unperverted man, and the *abnormal* form of love is that which has lost the power of excitability in either the one or the other of these directions. It is *unisexual* love (a love for one sexuality) which is a perversion. The normal men love both.

"It is true enough that in primitive society all passion must have been wholly or mainly animal, and spiritual progress must have been conditioned on subduing it. But there is no reason why this subjugation should have consisted in extirpating, or trying to extirpate, one of the two main forms of sexual passion, and cultivating the other. The actual reasons were, I take it, two: (1) to reserve all sexual energy for the increase of the race; (2) to get the utmost merely fleshly pleasure out of the exercise of passion. Whether either of these reasons adds to the spiritual elevation of love may be doubted. Certainly not the second, which is now the moving influence in the matter. It is true enough that all passion needs to be unceasingly watched, because the worst evils for mankind lie hidden in its undisciplined indulgence. But this is quite as true of intersexual as of homosexual love. I clearly believe that the Greek morality on this subject was far higher than ours, and truer to the spiritual nature of man; that our civilisation suffers for want of the pure and noble sentiment which they thought so useful to the state; and that we ought to think and speak of homosexual love, not as 'inverted' or 'abnormal,' as a sort of colour-blindness of the genital sense, as a lamentable mark of inferior development, or as an unhappy fault, a 'masculine body with a feminine soul,' but as being in itself a natural, pure and sound passion, as worthy of the reverence of all fine natures as the honourable devotion of husband and wife, or the ardour of bride and groom."

I present this statement of Prof. X.'s as representing the

furthest point to which the defence of sexual inversion has gone, or, indeed, could go, unless anyone were bold enough to assert that homosexuality is the only normal impulse, and heterosexual love a perversion. But a broad view of the phenomena of sex among animals generally, or even in savage or barbarous races of man, does not tend to make out even a *prima facie* case in its favour.

NOTES ON THE CONCUBINUS.

By J. A. Symonds.

There was a custom among the ancient Romans which has an interesting bearing on modern hypotheses regarding the nature of homosexual love. They allowed a young gentleman to consort freely with male slaves of his own age before the period of marriage. One of these was called his concubinus, or bed-fellow; and it is clear, from allusions to the position occupied by this youth in the household, that he acted like a kind of harmless safety-valve for his master's passions. Thus the Romans counted upon a young man's liking for persons of his own sex. They did not fear lest the indulgence of this taste in early manhood should render him indifferent to the female, or incapable of marriage at the proper moment. Furthermore, they reckoned that permitted friendships of the sort in question would keep the lad from the society of loose women, and from forming dangerous connections with married wives. Something of the same kind existed, I believe, in the slave states of America, though I do not mean to imply that here the connection was as sexual as it appears to have been in Rome. The following passage from an Epithalamium of Catullus, explains the position of the *concubinus*.[1]

Julia, the bride, is just about to appear; and the young people assembled to greet her are chanting the nuptial song. "Come forth, young bride," they cry. "Your smooth-lipped husband is not given to evil ways of pleasure, following base, infamous amours, nor will he seek to sleep apart from your soft bosom." As she draws nearer, the song turns to that playful satire which was permitted by ancient usage on such occasions. "Lift, lads, oh, lift your torches! see the bridal veil of flame advancing. March, sing in measure as you step; Io Hymen Hymenæe, Io! Io Hymen Hymenæe! Now's not the time to keep your quips and wanton sallies in the leash; nor let the bedfellow begrudge the boys their nuts,[2] the bedfellow who hears of his lord's love abandoned.

[1] Carmen lxi, "In nuptias Juliæ et Manlii."

[2] *Nuces*, trifles, with a double sense of testicles.

Fling nuts to the boys, you lazy bedfellow. Time enough you've played with nuts. 'Tis now the hour to wait upon the god of bridals. Bedfellow, fling nuts. But yesterday the farm lads were too homely for you, bedfellow! Now the barber with his basin comes to shear your lip and chin. Wretched, oh wretched bedfellow, fling nuts. 'Twill be said of you, fair bridegroom, dainty and perfumed, that you part but sadly from your smooth-cheeked slaves. Nay, part with them. Io Hymen Hymenæe, Io! Io Hymen Hymenæe! We know you practised nought with them but what is lawful.[1] Yet these things are not lawful as before, now that you are wedded. Io Hymen Hymenæe, Io! Io Hymen Hymenæe."

The explanation of the word *concubiuus* given in our dictionaries is "one who practises sexual intercourse without wedlock, a catamite." It is regarded as "a more honourable designation of the *pellex*." What the use of the male *pellex* was, appears clearly from Martial's epigram, addressed to a jealous wife (Lib. xii, 97).

The hymenæal stanzas translated above from Catullus show the *concubinus* to have been a favourite lad selected from the other slaves for his master's comrade and bedfellow. So long as his bloom lasted he could afford to look down upon the other slaves about the farm. But when his lord married and the barber came to shave his beard, he had to leave the sports of boyhood and the privileges of his exceptional station. The young gentleman, too, is supposed to quit his smooth companions with reluctance: when he took a wife, their familiarity ceased to be right and fitting. The nature of this familiarity, proper to celibacy, improper after marriage, seems unintelligible now. If anywhere, we have to seek for it in the exact meaning of the words *quae licent sola cognita* and *ista non eadem licent*. But here the irony and veiled allusion of fescennine verse leave a wide field for conjecture. It might, perhaps, be not unreasonable to suppose that only certain forms of intimacy were allowed by custom and the sense of honour: as Cicero records about the Spartans, *omnia permittunt praeter stuprum*. Yet, taking the passage in its entirety, and allowing for an innuendo in the phrase *satis diu lusisti nucibus*, we can hardly avoid the supposition that the *concubinus* and his master were suffered, up to the marriage of the latter, to do very much what they pleased together. Robinson Ellis is of opinion that *quae licent* meant "any connexion, however

[1] *Licita*. Roman law permitted even the *stuprum* of a slave.

disreputable, which was not punishable by law". If so, the mode of their intimacy would have depended on their specific temperaments.

The Romans, then, were not afraid of encouraging relations between their sons and slaves, of a sexual nature, limited only by undefined good taste and sense of honour. They did this, in spite of what is called the widespread corruption of manners, which tolerated and flaunted every form of homosexuality and sadism. Yet it cannot be demonstrated that more Urnings (in the strict sense of that term as used by Ulrichs) were created by such practises than would have existed without them. More bachelors from a *horror fœminæ* and an irresistible attraction for males do not seem to have been produced. What really happened was that men married, and carried on amours with both sexes, according to their personal proclivities: there being a pretty equal division between both in the case of habitual libertines.

COUNTESS SAROLTA V.

On the 4th November, 1889, the father-in-law of a certain Count Sandor V., gave information to the authorities that he had been cheated of 800 florins by false pretences, and further stated that in the spring of that year a fictitious marriage had taken place between his daughter and Count Sandor; also he alleged that Count Sandor was not a man at all, but a woman going about in man's clothes, and really called Sarolta (Charlotte) Countess V.

She was arrested. On her first examination she acknowledged that she was born on the 6th December 1866, and was really of the female sex, a Catholic, unmarried, and that she was engaged as a journalist and author under the name of Count Sandor V.

From an autobiography written by this man-woman the following facts have been ascertained, and are confirmed by information from other sources.

She belongs to an ancient, aristocratic and highly respectable Hungarian family which has always been remarkable for eccentricity. A sister of her maternal grandmother was hysterical and somnambulistic, and on account of an imaginary paralysis kept her bed for seventeen years. Another great-aunt lay in bed for seven years on account of an imaginary fatal illness, but at the same time gave balls. A third had the idea that a console in her drawing-room was bewitched. If anyone placed anything on this console she became extremely excited, called out "Bewitched, bewitched," and hastened with the object into a room which she called the Black Chamber, the key of which she never allowed to go into anyone else's hands. After the death of this lady a collection of shawls, ornaments, bank-notes, etc., was found in the Black Chamber. A fourth great-aunt for two years would not allow her room to be cleaned, and would not wash or comb herself; at the end of the two years she

again made her appearance. All these ladies were, however, intellectual, cultivated and amiable.

Sarolta's mother was nervous, and could not bear the moonshine.

Her father's family were generally regarded as rather crack-brained. One line of the family occupied itself almost exclusively with spiritualism. Two blood relations on the father's side shot themselves. The majority of the men are extraordinarily talented. The women are very homely and commonplace people. Sarolta's father occupied a high post, which, however, he had to give up on account of his eccentricity and spendthrift habits.

It was a whim of the father's to educate Sarolta as a boy, to teach her to ride, drive and hunt; he admired her energy as a man, and called her Sandor. On the other hand, he educated his two sons as girls and put them in woman's clothing up to the age of fifteen.

Sarolta-Sandor remained under the influence of her father until her twelfth year, when she went to her eccentric maternal grandmother at Dresden, and was by her, when this fictitious manliness became too obtrusive, sent to a boarding school and dressed as a girl. At the age of thirteen she went away with an English girl, with whom she formed a love relationship, and declared that she was a boy. Sarolta returned to her mother, who, however, could not make out how it was that her daughter had again become Sandor, wore boy's clothes, and at least once every year played at love-relationships with persons of her own sex. At the same time she was receiving a careful education, learnt to speak, besides Hungarian and German, French, English, and to some extent Italian, made long journeys with her father in England and France, of course always as a young man; emancipated herself early, visited cafés and even places of doubtful reputation, and boasted that one day in a brothel she had a girl seated on each knee. Sarolta was often intoxicated; she was a passionate lover of manly sports and a very skilful fencer. She felt herself very attracted to actresses or other independent ladies, who were not always very young, and to whom she gave presents and boquets. She declares she has never felt any inclination to a man, and from year to year has felt a growing dislike for men. "I preferred to go into the

society of women in the company of plain insignificant men, so that I might not be left in the shade. If I observed that one of them aroused sympathy in the ladies I became jealous. I preferred intellectual to physically beautiful women, but I could not stand those who were coarse or forward. I liked a woman's passion to be revealed beneath a poetic veil; anything immodest in a woman was disgusting to me. I had an unspeakable dislike to female clothing and to everything else of a female character, but only in myself, for I was an enthusiastic lover of the fair sex."

For about ten years Sarolta has lived almost constantly as a man and away from her relatives. She has formed a number of *liaisons* with women, travelled with them, spent much money, got into debt.

At the same time she displayed literary activity, and was a valued contributor to two high-class journals in Vienna, one of Semitic, the other of anti-Semitic tendency.

Her passion for women was very variable. She never showed constancy in love. Only once a relationship lasted for three years. This was at Schloss Gyon. Sarolta here made acquaintance with Emma E., ten years older than herself. She fell in love with this lady, made a marriage contract with her, and lived with her three years as man and wife in Pesth.

A new love, which was to be fateful for Sarolta, caused her to dissolve her "marriage" with E. The latter did not wish to leave her. It was only with difficulty that Sarolta bought her freedom from E., who, it appears, still considers herself a divorced woman, and calls herself Countess V. That Sarolta was also able to call out passion in other women appears from the fact that before the marriage with E. she had become tired of a certain Fraülein D., after having squandered much money with her, and Fraülein D. had threatened to shoot her if she did not remain true.

In the summer of 1887, while staying at a watering-place, Sarolta became acquainted with the family of a respectable official. She at once fell in love with the daughter, Marie, and her love was returned. The latter's mother and cousin tried to throw hindrances in the way of an engagement, but in vain. The two lovers carried on an ardent correspondence throughout the winter. When a

friend sought to dissuade Marie from marriage, saying that Sandor was not able to marry, she declared that if she could not marry she would be his maid-servant. In April 1888 Count Sandor came on a visit, when the lovers on several occasions slept together, and in May 1889 Sarolta reached the goal of her desires, and Marie, who in the meanwhile had given up the position she occupied as teacher, in the presence of a friend of her beloved Sandor, was married in a summer-house in Hungary by a pretended priest, a young man in a choir surplice. Sarolta had got up the marriage with her friend. The pair lived together very happily, Marie being quite ignorant of conjugal duties, and if it had not been for the information given by the father-in-law this apparent marriage might have lasted for an indefinite period. It is remarkable that during the tolerably long engagement Sarolta was able to deceive her bride's family completely regarding her sex.

Sarolta was a passionate smoker, and had a thoroughly masculine carriage and habits. Her letters were always addressed to Count Sandor, and she often observed that she would soon be called to military duties. Shortly before the "marriage" she wrote two pamphlets, one on the land question in Hungary, the other on the autonomy of the Catholic Church.

From the information given by the father-in-law, it appears that Sarolta (as she afterwards confessed) used to stuff handkerchiefs or gloves into her trousers' pockets to produce the appearance of sexual organs. The father-in-law also once observed something like an erect member in his future son-in-law, who also let fall the remark that in riding he had to wear a suspensory bandage. As a matter of fact, Sarolta wore a bandage round her body to support an artificial organ. Marie's family frequently observed Sandor during walks retire up to a tree, apparently for the purpose of urinating like a man; in the privy she contrived to wet the back of the seat, and for this was scolded by the mother-in-law. Although Sarolta frequently shaved for appearance sake, the people at the hotel were convinced she was a woman because the chamber maid had found traces of menstrual blood on the washing (Sarolta explained this as due to piles), and once when Sarolta was taking a bath the

maid looked through the key-hole and convinced herself that Sarolta was a woman.

Concerning Sarolta's intellectual individuality a large number of manuscripts give us information. The handwriting is firm and assured; it has a genuinely masculine character. The contents everywhere contain the same characteristics—wild, unrestrained passion, hatred and opposition to everything which opposes itself to hearts thirsting for love and its return, a poetical love in which there was no trace of anything ignoble, but enthusiasm for everything fair and lovely, together with an intelligent perception of science and the fine arts. Her writings betray unusually wide reading in the classics of all languages. Evidence has been called to show that her literary productions are not insignificant.

The letters and writings concerning the relationship to Marie are psychologically interesting. Sarolta speaks of the bliss she had experienced at Marie's side, and of the boundless desire she had to see the adored woman again, if only for a moment. After the outrage to which she had been subjected, she only wished now to exchange the cell for the grave. The bitterest pain was the consciousness that now Marie also must hate her. Hot tears, so many that she could drown herself in them, had she wept over her lost happiness. Whole pages were concerned with the apotheosis of this affection and with recollections of the days of early love and acquaintance. Sarolta mourns over her heart, which will not be dominated by reason. Then, again, she breaks out into mad passion, and declares she cannot live without Marie.

"The tones of your dear, lovely voice, a voice which might even make me rise from my grave, have always been to me a promise of Paradise. Your mere presence was enough to soothe my physical and moral griefs. It was a magnetic stream, a peculiar power which your being exercised over mine, and which I have never been quite able to define to myself. So I have to content myself with the everlastingly true definition: I love you because I love you. In the comfortless night I had only one star, the star of Marie's love, The star is now gone out—there is now only the reflection of it, the sweet melancholy recollection. which lightens up the terrible night of death with a pale glimmer of hope."

She breaks out again into this appeal:—

"Gentlemen, wise lawyers and medical pathologists, judge me! Every step that I took was led by love: each of my acts was caused by love. God put it into my heart. If He created me so, and not otherwise, am I

guilty, or is it the everlasting and unfathomable ways of fate? I have trusted in God that one day redemption would come, for my fault was only love itself, which is the principle and foundation of His laws—His very kingdom itself. O God! Thou merciful and all-powerful, Thou seest my torment, Thou knowest what I suffer. Bend to me and reach to me Thy helping hand now that all the world has forsaken me. Only God is just. How beautifully Victor Hugo describes this in his *Legendes du Siècle!*"

Although Sarolta knew that none of her writings reached her beloved, she was never weary of penning long outbursts of adoration of Marie's person, full of the joy and pain of love,

"in order to beg for one bright, gleaming tear wept on a still, bright summer evening, when the sea glows in the evening light like molten gold, and the bells, mingling in harmonious melancholy, proclaim rest and peace for this poor soul, for this poor heart—that to its last breath is beating for thee."

The first meeting between the doctors and Sarolta was in some degree embarrassing on both sides, for the first on account of Sarolta's perhaps somewhat forced masculine airs, for her because she thought that she was about to receive the brand of moral insanity. She possesses an intelligent, not unbeautiful face, which, in spite of a certain delicacy of feature and smallness of all the parts, has a very decided masculine character. It was difficult for the doctors to realise, in spite of the presence of female clothing, that they had a woman before them, intercourse with the man Sandor seeming much more natural The accused also felt this. She became more free and communicative as soon as she was treated as a man.

Nothwithstanding the inclination towards the female sex, which she had shown from her earliest years, it was only in her thirteenth year, when she ran away with the red-haired English girl from the Dresden institute, that the first traces of the sexual instinct appeared, and manifested themselves in kisses, caresses, and contact accompanied by voluptuous emotions. Even at this time her dreams were exclusively concerned with female forms, and then and ever since in erotic dreams she always felt herself in the situation of a man. She knew nothing of solitary or mutual masturbation. This appeared to her very disgusting and unworthy of masculine dignity. She has never allowed anyone to touch her genital organs, partly for this reason, partly

because it would have revealed her great secret. The menses first appeared at the age of seventeen, but were always slight in amount and without pain. Sarolta visibly detests the mention of menstrual phenomena, as repulsive to her masculine consciousness and feelings. She recognises the morbidity of her sexual inclinations, but does not wish to be different, because with these emotions she feels herself perfectly well and happy.

The idea of sexual intercourse with men is disgusting to her, and she regards it as impossible. Her modesty goes so far that it is easier for her to sleep with men than with women. For this reason when she wishes to satisfy a need, or to change her linen, she begs her cell companion to turn to the window, so that she may not see her. When Sarolta by chance came in close contact with this cell companion, a woman belonging to the dregs of the people, she experienced voluptous excitement at which she blushed. She tells unasked of the misery she felt on being placed in the cell in unaccustomed female garments. Her only consolation was that she had at least been left her shirt.

Smell plays a considerable part in her sexual life, and she mentioned that on the occasion of an absence of her Marie she sought out and smelled those parts of the sofa on which Marie's head had been accustomed to lie, in order to inhale with delight the aroma left by the hair. The women who interested Sarolta were not exactly beautiful, or voluptuous, or very young. She always places the physical charms of a woman in the second rank. She feels herself drawn with a "magnetic" attraction to women of about twenty-four to thirty. Her sexual satisfaction she finds exclusively in the body of her friend, never in her own body, usually in the form of masturbation of the beloved woman, or else of *cunnilingus*. Occasionally she uses a stocking stuffed with tow as a priapus. Sarolta made these confessions unwillingly, and with visible shame; in her writings also, there are never any signs of immodesty. She is religious, takes a lively interest in everything fair and noble, is very sensitive to the moral appreciation of others. She deeply regrets that she has made Marie unhappy in her passion. She regards her sexual instinct as perverse, and such love of one woman to another in normal people as

morally objectionable. She is not only highly talented in literary respects, but possesses a remarkable memory. Her only weakness is capriciousness, and the impossibility of behaving sensibly about money. She is, however, conscious of this weakness, and begs that nothing more be said of it.

Sarolta is 153 cm. in height, the bony system is delicate; she is slender, and remarkably muscular in the chest and thighs.[1] Her walk in woman's clothing is awkward; her movements are energetic, not unbeautiful, although with a certain masculine rigidity and lack of grace. She greets you with a hearty handshake. Her whole bearing is decided, stiff, somewhat self-conscious. Her expression is intelligent, her bearing rather grave. Feet and hands are strikingly small, like a child's. The extensor side of the extremities is remarkably covered with hair, although there is not the slightest trace of a beard, in spite of all efforts with the razor. The body is not at all of feminine build, and there is no waist. The pelvis is so slender and so little prominent that a line drawn from the armpit to the knee is straight, not drawn in at the waist nor projecting at the hips. The skull is slightly oxycephalic, and at least 1 cm. below the female average. The circumference of the skull amounts to 52; the posterior circumference is 24, starting from the ear. The parietal is 23, the frontal 28·5, long diameter 17, greatest breadth 13, distance between auditory meatus 12, between malar processes 12·2 cm. The upper jaw projects; position of teeth not quite normal; the right upper canine has never developed. The mouth is remarkably small; the ears stand out; the lobule is adherent to the cheek. The hard palate is small and steep; the voice is rough and deep. The breasts are sufficiently developed, soft, without secretion. The mons veneris is covered by thick dark hair. The sexual organs are of completely feminine type, without any trace of hermaphroditic phenomena, but they have remained at the

[1] Her personal appearance, it may be said, was thus briefly summed up by an interviewer: "The Countess is of middle height, with a good chest, heavy shoulders, and well-developed arms and legs. She has short, curly dark hair, hazel eyes, a saucy nose, and a Cupid's bow mouth. Although the lines of her face have been somewhat deepened and hardened by her fast life, she still looks like a handsome, dashing young fellow of twenty years."

same infantile stage as those of a girl of ten. The labia majora meet almost completely; the labia minora are of cockscomb shape and project beyond the greater lips. The clitoris is small and very sensitive. The frænulum is delicate, the perinæum very small, the entrance to the vagina narrow, the mucous membrane normal. The hymen is absent, apparently from birth; there are no carunculæ myrtiformes. The vagina is so narrow that the entrance of the *membrum virile* would be impossible, or, at least, extremely painful. Coitus has certainly not taken place. The uterus was felt through the rectum about the size of a walnut, immovable and retroflected.

The pelvis is small in all directions (dwarf pelvis), and is of decidedly masculine type. The distance between the anterior spinous processes is 22·5 (instead of 26·3), between iliac crests, 26·5 (instead of 29·3), trochanters 27·7 (31); the external conjugate is 17·2 (19-20), so the internal is probably 7·7 (10·8). On account of the defective breadth of the pelvis, the thighs are not convergent, as is normally the case in women, but straight.

This examination, in the opinion of the experts consulted, revealed in Sarolta a congenital morbid perversion of the sexual instinct, expressing itself even in anomalies of physical development, on a foundation of hereditary degeneration; and they held that the incriminated actions of Sarolta were due to her morbid and irresistible sexual impulse. In so far, her own expression is fully justified: "If God so created me, and not otherwise, is it my fault?"

This view of the case was taken by the court. The "Countess in Men's Clothes", as the newspapers called her, returned to the capital of her own country, and again bore herself as "Count Sandor." She had sown her wild oats, she said, and had suffered for it. Her only grief is the loss of the happiness she enjoyed with her ardently loved Marie, whom she dreams of every night. The latter, it may be added, retains her love for the Countess, whom she calls the grandest of women, and she longs to be her companion through life.

A NOTE ON SEXUAL INVERSION.

By Dr. K.

A number of cases of inversion in women have come under my observation. In some of these cases there is a hereditary neurasthenic or psychopathic tendency, but it must be borne in mind that there are few people in modern life, perhaps none, who could be pronounced absolutely free from such a *Belastung*.

The persons whom I have questioned acknowledge their feelings to be unusual, and perhaps morbid, but they unite in declaring them to be absolutely ineradicable. One invert thus describes the needs of her nature: "A desire for a deep spiritual communion with a friend who has the same tastes, aspirations, and interests. Embraces and endearment, and a perfect faith in the other's purity of heart. These are the necessary conditions." I may also quote the following passage from a letter written by a young inverted woman to her friend: "Remember, dear, I am not asking you to love me as I love you, neither do I wish to make you remarkable in any way. I shrink from everything of the kind as much as anyone. I am simply exercising my right in loving you as I do—with a love which I know has God's sanction and blessing. The world has not learned friendship's blessing yet, but I know, for I have learned it through my misfortune, that it is possible for human souls to be made strong and beautiful by the spiritualising effect of love, the kind of love that I have given you. During all the years that I have known you my one desire has been to make my influence over you tend upward. I love you for the strength and purity and beauty of your character, and my only reason for telling you about my peculiar nature is to make you understand, if possible, that my affection for you is earnest and sincere. I cannot bear to have you treat it lightly, or to be considered weak and sentimental. Be brave and honest

with me. You have known me now for seven years; you know that this inversion does not affect my moral sense, yet you have not written to me since I told you of it, and I cannot understand your silence. It is so unlike you."

While the feeling, doubtless, has a sexual basis, it is in many cases not recognised, and the love, though intense, is purely spiritual in character, and is placed upon a high plane. Moreover, this moral attitude is not attained as the result of conscious effort on the part of these persons; it seems rather to be a natural tendency. This may be explained in several ways. There may be a congenitally feeble instinct, or it may be that the instinct, through having been gratified only in an emotional or spiritual way, has been entirely subordinated to the higher feelings.[1]

The cases which I have investigated have no unfavourable physical or mental symptoms. On the contrary, their health is as sound as their morals. They are, as a rule, persons of a highly wrought nervous organisation, and of unusual mental power. Inquiries of this character must be carried on with the utmost caution. There is an inevitable tendency to form conclusions before the subject is adequately mastered, and facts are almost invariably looked at from the standpoint of some theory which so colours and distorts them, that weak corroborative evidence is apt to be invested with undue strength and strong adverse evidence carelessly to be dismissed as weak. Most of the cases heretofore investigated are of persons belonging to the criminal or quasi-criminal classes, and conclusions drawn from these cases are necessarily tainted with this imperfection. Homosexual phenomena are in such instances difficult to disentangle from other phenomena—the stigmata of criminality—which may be of great significance, or of little or no significance whatever, in the solution of the problem of homosexuality.

Furthermore, the testimony of the homosexual, or of those who describe themselves as homosexual, is doubtless in many

[1] In the *Century Magazine*, January, 1897, there is an interesting article entitled "The Ladies of Llangollen". There is reason to believe that one or perhaps both of these women were inverts. The friendship of these women was probably of the character I have mentioned. It is certainly the only kind of friendship that would prove enduring.

cases not entitled to full credence. Every person is impelled by a law of his nature to justify his conduct in his own eyes, and in the eyes of others. This is, of course, especially true where any habit or feeling exists which is condemned by the prevailing opinion of mankind. Under this influence one who admits himself to be homosexual is apt, on the one hand, to magnify any evidence tending to show a congenital element which necessarily excludes the idea of personal responsibility, and, on the other hand, largely to ignore or to understate evidence of exactly oppposite significance, which, perhaps, exists in equal abundance.

While the results of our investigations up to the present time point unmistakably to the effects of heredity, *i.e.*, an inherited diathesis or a predisposition to morbid feelings, it does not follow that the actual inversion of the sex instinct is congenital. The histories of some cases certainly tend to the conclusion that they are congenital, and, on the other hand, we have strong reasons for believing that in a majority of cases the inversion is acquired. The sexual instinct is not an acquired instinct, *but its modes of expression are acquired.* The same instinct existing everywhere has been taught to be gratified in different ways. How widely instincts may be modified by education and association may be seen by reading the chapters in Mr. Spencer's *Sociology* relative to the various forms of marriage prevailing among different peoples.

Although congenital cases doubtless exist, there are certain inherent difficulties in pronouncing any particular case to be congenital. Such cases we have strong reasons to believe are comparatively rare. The sexual instinct has been derived from untold millions of ancestors. It is absolutely necessary to the survival of the race. Upon such an instinct heredity operates with greatest force—natural selection always tending to make it invariable. Nor does the mere fact that we are unable to explain how the homosexual abnormality was acquired justify us in holding that it is congenital.

We are, for instance, wholly unable to explain in individual instances the origin of those number forms and colour associations which Mr. Galton has shown to be common (see *Inquiries into Human Faculty*). Mr. Galton gives the statements of persons who invariably see the visual image

of an object as soon as it is suggested. Others have colours associated with certain sounds or sights, and to some of these persons a series of numbers will appear always in the form of a geometrical figure. There can be little doubt that such mental peculiarities are acquired in childhood. Possibly these people while learning their letters or numbers formed the habit of placing them in the figures of the carpet or wall paper, and in this way or in some similar way this association of ideas was acquired. Thus it will be seen that we must not fail to recognise the immense importance of education—the association of ideas and other influences which operate so strongly upon the minds of the young in ways which are absolutely incomprehensible. One very significant fact is that in nearly every case of inversion reported, there is a premature development of the sex instinct. Feelings are experienced at the age of six, seven, or nine, which in normally constituted persons do not assert themselves until after the period of puberty or about that time.

Such feelings are due in all probability to an imperfect nervous organisation. This organisation is, doubtless, inherited, but it may not point in all cases to a neuropathic family history.

With the development of the sex instinct, obscure feelings arise; there is a hunger of the soul, a reaching out for something which will satisfy it, in short, an instinct to love. When this longing is obscure and indefinite, as is the case with the first sexual feelings in mankind, it impetuously seizes and expends its force upon anything which promises in any way to appease its demands; the thing thus seized upon may be of a character tending to produce a perversion or perhaps an inversion of instinct. The imagination takes hold of the unnatural or perverting method of gratification, and invests it with all those feelings which properly belong to a more natural method, and when this has occurred a number of times, a habit is formed, and a perversion or inversion of instinct has resulted. Of this perversion or inversion the person affected may be wholly ignorant. To him his condition is perfectly normal, and he *can remember no time when it did not seem normal.* For this reason he is impelled to think of it as congenitally produced.

That an instinct which has during the period of extreme plasticity been habitually gratified in some unnatural way may be rendered utterly incapable thereafter of finding gratification in any other way is well illustrated by the following extract from Darwin's *Variations of Animals and Plants under Domestication*, Vol. 2, p. 294 :—

"An animal when once accustomed to an unnatural diet, which can generally be effected only during youth, dislikes its proper food, as Spallanzani found to be the case with a pigeon which had long been fed on meat. The catterpillars of the Bombex hesperus feed in a state of nature on the leaves of the Cafe diable, but having been reared on the Ailanthus, they would not touch the Cafe diable, and actually died of hunger."

Perversions or inversions of the sexual instinct, it is obvious, are especially liable thus to be acquired among the highly civilised nations, where the custom prevails of keeping the young for as long as possible in a state of extreme ignorance in regard to everything pertaining to sexual relations, so that this instinct is left to drift about at the mercy of circumstances, and is consequently almost of necessity diverted from the normal channel.

For the reasons stated above, and for other reasons not mentioned, it is clear to me that homosexual investigations are attended with great difficulties. In studying the cases which have fallen under my observation, I have tried to keep these difficulties always in view. My own cases have not been sufficiently numerous to justify broad conclusions, but they have thoroughly convinced me that the current views with regard to homosexuality are grossly erroneous and cruelly unjust.

One thing has been made perfectly clear: whether congenital or acquired, *homosexuality is not in itself a mark of mental deficiency or of moral degradation.* All feelings are capable of abuse, and the homosexual feelings, like the ordinary sexual feelings, have beyond question led to degraded practices ; but I have had the fortune to have found a number of cases of inversion where the persons have been distinguished for unusual strength and purity of character, and for far more than the average intelligence and energy. To denounce such persons as degraded is the height of cruelty—a cruelty which must necessarily produce an acute sense of injustice and feelings of bitter resentment.

In discussing this subject it is, perhaps, not wise to emphasise too strongly the view that these anomalies are congenital; for in some of these cases, where there is simply a strong predisposition to inversion or a premature development of the emotions, it is not unlikely that with proper training good results might be obtained. Such tendencies in young children are manifestly morbid, and should be corrected; but all effort leading to this end must begin in childhood, while the feelings and imagination are in a state of plasticity.


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